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Ernst Henry

**STOP
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Novosti Press Agency Publishing House
Moscow, 1982

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© Издательство Агентства печати Новости, 1981
© Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1982
Editing completed on January 21, 1982

Available in Russian, English, French, Spanish, German and Italian.

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CHAPTER ONE

Why Blood Is Shed

Europe has not known war for the last 36 years—something quite rare in the history of this continent. There have, of course, been periods of tension, even very acute tension, and the class struggle on the international scene shows no signs of abating. So it is all the more remarkable that peace has not been shattered. And there is reason to believe it will last.

In other parts of the world, however, blood is being shed *daily*. And no end to this bloodshed is in sight. There is a monster which has been destroying numbers of people, among them absolutely innocent men and women, children and old folk. This monster is terrorism.

Murder and attempted murder, bomb explosions and street violence have become a daily occurrence in several capitalist countries, so much so that they no longer evoke surprise. The culprits are mostly immature and desperate youths. We are not talking of crimes committed by the underworld (though such crimes, too, have been steadily increasing), but of acts of violence perpetrated in the name of sublime aims, for "ideological" or at any rate political motives. Thousands of terrorists have been

imprisoned, but police methods and legal measures, despite the publicity given to them, have so far failed to eradicate the evil.

It is becoming increasingly clear that it is not now a case of isolated or sporadic incidents; it is rather a chronic and progressive disease afflicting bourgeois society, something that has become integral to that society.

Here are some figures that indicate what is happening.

According to clearly understated data released by the US Central Intelligence Agency, which is well informed on such matters, the number of people killed as a result of terrorist acts in various countries was 29 in 1969, 145 in 1972, 315 in 1974, 402 in 1976, 432 in 1978, and 587 in 1979. *The New York Times* says in 1979 terrorist acts were committed in 58 countries.

It is symptomatic that Western Europe tops the list in these statistics; there were twice as many assassination attempts on its territory as in the troubled Middle East, in North and the rest of Africa taken together. Of all the terrorist acts that took place from 1968 to 1979, explosive bombing accounted for 47.6 per cent of the total, incendiary bombing—13.7 per cent, assassination—7.4 per cent, kidnapping—7.9 per cent, letter bombing—5.5 per cent and armed attack—also 5.5 per cent.¹ Though diverse methods are used, the CIA experts add, most acts are “simple in both design and execution”. What they mean to say is that the terrorists require advanced training.

¹ See Pictogram, *Anatomy of International Terrorism*, US News & World Report, June 16, 1980, pp. 40-41.

According to the estimation of Yonah Alexander, Director of the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism, there were 5,529 terrorist acts in the capitalist world from 1970 to 1978, three-fifths of them occurring within the last three years of that eight-year period.

According to other sources the number of terrorist acts decreased in 1980 compared with 1979, but the number of victims increased five times.¹

These figures too seem to be an underestimate. According to the Communist Party of Italy, in just three years from 1977 to 1979 there were 6,639 terrorist acts in that country alone. Three-quarters of all the attempts took place in major cities, that is to say, in centres of the working-class movement, with Rome being the scene of 748 acts.² In 1980 alone 557 terrorists were arrested in Italy and 36 terrorist bases and training centres were discovered. But the bloody war still rages. Even in such a comparatively backward capitalist country as Turkey terror took the lives of 5,241 people and crippled 14,152 others in two years (1979-80). Forty people were killed on one day in 1980 in Turkey. In Spain 413 people fell victim to acts of terror from 1968 to late 1980. Terrorism will become a continuation of policy in the United States, warns Brian Jenkins, an American specialist in this field.

Already the number of victims in most countries runs into three figures. Nobody is venturing to predict what may happen tomorrow, especially

¹ *Morning Star*, February 9, 1981.

² *L'Humanité*, January 7, 1980.

if there is further aggravation of the crisis and conflicts in capitalist countries. Most observers are inclined to believe that despite all government measures the number of victims will grow considerably. This is all the more likely because terrorist attacks against society come today from two quarters—from both Right and Left extremists, whom it is often difficult to differentiate.

Terrorism in one way or another has been growing as if it were being spurred on all the time. Sometimes it seems that bourgeois society is either unable to grasp what is happening, or afraid lest it should discover something malignant and incurable within itself. The Left extremists are, nevertheless, being closely watched by bourgeois observers. The University of New York has set up a special institute for the study of terrorism; a book published by the institute describes terrorism as a growing threat to peace.¹

Everybody, except the terrorists themselves, agrees at least in their public utterances that an act of terrorism constitutes a crime. But some people distort this definition. They distort it by describing as "terrorism" the struggle being waged by national liberation fighters in various parts of the world for the life and freedom of their peoples. US Secretary of State General Alexander Haig, for instance, calls this struggle "international terrorism" and blames the Soviet Union for it. The US Senate has set up a special subcommittee on security and terrorism.

¹ See *Terrorism: Theory and Practice*, Edited by Y. Alexander, D. Carlton, P. Wilkinson, Boulder, Cal., 1979.

The same tactic was resorted to in March 1981 by the above-mentioned New York Institute for the Study of Terrorism when it invited to a press conference, as its main "witness" against the socialist countries, Ray Cline, former Director of the US Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State. He too laid all the blame on the USSR.

Such charges are senseless and cannot be taken seriously. If one were to accept the viewpoint of the accusers, one would have to call George Washington and his followers "terrorists" because they waged an armed struggle in the 18th century for America's independence from the British Crown; and also the freedom fighters in Asia who fought first against British and then against Japanese oppression. But would this be logical? General Haig attached a wrong meaning to the notion of terrorism and, it seems, he did this deliberately.

Speaking on television in late April 1981, none other than W. Webster, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (the highest police authority in the United States), admitted that none of the terrorist groups operating in the United States is controlled by the Soviet Union or under its influence.

What American officials fail to mention is that *real* criminal terrorism does exist in the modern world. It is such terrorism that this book is about. It has become necessary to study the documentary evidence about terrorist organisations operating in several capitalist countries. As to the socialist countries no terrorist organisations are tolerated there.

It is relevant here to refute another charge sometimes levelled against the Soviet Union—the charge that *state* terrorism was initiated in this century by the Soviet government and that this happened way back in 1918 under Lenin. This is an absurd lie. A campaign of terror was launched not by the Soviet government but by its enemies.

One of the anti-Soviet historians in the United States is Alfred G. Meyer, whose book *Leninism* came out in 1957 when the cold war was at its height. He writes that for some months after the establishment of Soviet power “there was no violent terror”, that “the *Cheka* began its reign of terror only after the beginning of the civil war and the attempted assassination of Lenin (in retaliation and as a cautionary measure.—*E.H.*), and this terror is in marked contrast with the lenient treatment that White generals received immediately after the revolution.”¹

Though anti-Soviet, A. G. Meyer has written the truth. This was in fact the position in 1918 when, immediately after the revolution, the counter-revolutionaries began intimidating the people by bloody acts and unleashed a civil war. History lays the blame on them and nobody can exonerate them. It was in defence of the revolution that Soviet power struck a blow in answer to a blow. To give any other reason for these retaliatory measures would be to distort the facts.

There are numerous other instances of terrorist murders: the murder of Soviet leaders Moisei Urit-

¹ Alfred G. Meyer, *Leninism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1957, p. 193.

sky and Moisei Volodarsky in 1918, the murder of French Socialist leader Jean Jaurès on the eve of the First World War, the murder of German Communist Party leaders Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Jan Tyszka in 1919, the murder of the leader of the same Party Ernst Thälmann in 1944, the murder of Chilean Socialist leader Salvador Allende in 1973, the murder in 1976 of Orlando Letelier, a leading figure in the Popular Unity Government of Chile, and countless similar acts in Europe and Latin America, as well as in other parts of the world. It is indisputable that it was Right-wing, and not Left-wing, forces that committed these acts of terrorism.

Uninformed or misinformed people in the West believe the Red Brigades, a terrorist gang now operating in Italy, are a “Communist organisation”. Italian President Alessandro Pertini recently claimed that the Red Brigades receive their orders from Moscow. We shall deal with this organisation in a later chapter. But here it should be stated clearly that the exact opposite is the case: the Red Brigades are sworn enemies of the Communist movement, not its friends, and they themselves make no secret of this. The Communist Party of Italy has for many years been calling for firm measures against this organisation. Wearing a red mask does not make someone a Communist; a red mask can conceal a face distorted with bitter hatred of the Communist movement.

It is an undeniable fact that terrorist organisations are running amuck in the capitalist world, and not elsewhere. It is also a fact that for more than ten years governments in the capitalist coun-

tries have been unable to cope with terrorism. People are being killed or crippled and held to ransom. Shops and banks are robbed and bombs thrown in public places. A bomb explosion killed 85 and injured about 200 people at a railway station in Bologna on August 2, 1980. In Munich, in an area where festivals are traditionally held, a bomb killed 12 people and wounded 215 others on September 26, 1980.

This is what is actually happening today. And the terrorist plague is likely to become even more destructive in the event of an aggravation of crisis phenomena and conflicts in the capitalist world. The forces which actually breed and spread this plague are always in action. To them the human right of every person to life does not exist.

Why is terrorism rampant in the capitalist world of today? What gives rise to it?

Before attempting to answer these questions we must find out who supports the extremists, both Right and "Left". Terrorism does not spring from thin air. Deprived of *social* support, terrorist organisations would long ago have been disbanded or wiped out because of their destructive activity and the loss of life they inflict. Yet they are being reinforced all the time and some are even expanding. At whose expense?

Two different social strata nourish terrorism today. We shall begin with the first of them.

CHAPTER TWO

The Youth Rebellion

1.

... France, May 10-11, 1968. Paris is more agitated than at any other time since the Second World War. The Latin Quarter, where most of the faculties of the Sorbonne are situated, is criss-crossed with hundreds of barricades. Students are battling with the police and gendarmerie. About a thousand people have been wounded, some killed. Student leaders are calling for storming ministries and the Stock Exchange. Students at other universities and at lycées follow the example of the Sorbonne students. Though disapproving of the methods used by the rebellious students, the Communists demand that the government withdraw the police from the Latin Quarter.

Two days later there is an 800,000-strong demonstration in Paris. The bourgeoisie begin to fear the students may capture the capital if the workers join them. The government too is frightened. It releases arrested students, dismisses Minister of Education Alain Peyrefitte and promises to carry out a university reform by extending student rights. The disturbances gradually die down.

...Italy, spring of the same year. The univer-

sities in Turin, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Venice, Florence, Milan, Pisa and other towns are occupied by students. In clashes with the police students use sticks and stones and iron chains; they erect barricades. Here too the disturbances gradually subside, but many students form terrorist groups.

...The Federal Republic of Germany, at about the same time. Following the students of West Berlin (which is outside West German territory), students in Cologne, Munich, Frankfurt on the Main, Hamburg and Hanover come out onto the streets and are joined by groups of young workers. They seize university buildings, throwing smoke bombs and bottles with flammable liquid at the police. Six hundred students are arrested and two are killed.

...The United States, spring and summer of the same year. Violent student actions in San Francisco, Boston, New York and other cities. The same picture: the seizure of university buildings, battles with the police, hunger strikes in some jails. About half a million students are involved. There is a demonstration in front of draft offices (the US is waging its war in Vietnam); students tear up their draft cards and set fire to buildings. The 1970 student marches from many parts of the country meet in Washington in front of the White House. The demonstration looks like a siege. Police break up the gathering.

The same months and years. Spain: Dictator Franco is still in power. Students in Madrid set up a "Free Assembly" (*Asamblea libre*), help the illegal "Workers' Commissions" (*Comisión Obrera*) and make the authorities remove the police from

university campuses. Turkey: violent student demonstrations, terrorist acts, skirmishes with the police. The Right-wing government has to resign. Japan: for three days the police engage in bloody clashes with Tokyo University students.

In Latin America in 1968 the situation began to look like a real student uprising. In Mexico troops fought on the side of the police against students. On October 2, 1968, 39 students were killed, 200 wounded and more than 500 arrested on a single day. In Brazil the army used tanks against student gatherings in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and other cities. Similar things happened in some other Latin American countries. But, as everywhere else, the student rebellion gradually abated.

The ruling circles in capitalist countries, which at first scoffed at the student actions, were later scared out of their wits by this change in their relations with the young generation. What they feared most of all was an alliance of students with workers.

The student rebellions that swept the whole of the capitalist world could not have been accidental or spontaneous. They must have been triggered off by something at the bourgeois universities. Within the space of a year or two the students, who had hitherto never been regarded as a serious independent social factor, became a dynamic social force.

From then on that new force was viewed with anxiety. How could it be exploited? What turn would it take?

The student rebellion of the late 1960s and early 1970s was truly a worldwide sensation. It not only

affected the universities, it reflected the discontent and indignation of the *mass of the youth* in the capitalist world.

... July 1981, Britain. Something unprecedented is happening in about thirty major industrial cities—London, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham and others. Coloured working youths are waging fierce street battles against the police. They attack police stations, throw stones and bricks at guardians of the law, overturn cars. In some places they erect barricades. Lines of policemen, armed with truncheons and plastic shields and wearing bullet-proof vests, attack the rioters, bombarding them with CS gas, which stings the eyes, causes violent coughing and vomiting.

Fires are blazing in several cities. In Liverpool rotten tomatoes are thrown at the visiting Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. There are so many arrests that courts can spend only a few minutes on each case. Because the jails are overcrowded, concentration camps are to be set up and guarded by the army.

The whole country is scared. There is a storm in the House of Commons. Labour MP Martin Flannery chides the Prime Minister that there are whole districts where she dare not go and she has to hide from the people whom she is supposed to govern. William Whitelaw, Secretary of State for the Home Department, describes the actions of the youth as hooliganism and an expression of inordinate greed. A special law against young rebels is proposed.

The government does not rule out the possibility of calling in troops. A decision is taken to equip the police with plastic bullets of the kind troops are already using in Ulster, and with nerve gas.

Even newspapers sympathising with the Tory government write that Britain is facing its worst crisis since the war, that the youth disturbances are growing into an uprising. The London correspondent of *Le Quotidien de Paris* reports with malicious delight that the riots in Britain "have caused a social and political crisis the like of which the country has not seen since the beginning of the century; behind the continuous rioting looms the spectre of civil war."

All this turmoil is taking place not in temperamental Italy or France, but in good old England with its reputation of being one of the most peaceful and respectable countries of the bourgeois world. It is not impulsive students with Latin blood in their veins that have risen in rebellion, raising the "spectre of civil war", but "well-bred" white youths and young people from the slums for coloured folk in British cities. For they face the same accursed question: How to escape from unemployment? By becoming lumpen-proletarians? Or criminals? Two aspects of the rebellion, but one problem.

The causes of rebellion were deep-rooted. The youth revolted not from idleness, not because of juvenile delinquency or a taste for adventure. It was capitalist society itself which made them revolt. They broke out of bounds because they found themselves gripped in a vice. In the 1960s and 1970s the revolt involved the upper strata of the

youth. But, as we shall see, the working youth—a far larger social group—were in a no better position. What was the matter?

2.

Due note must be taken of the weight and importance of the youth in our time. Not all analysts do this.

They forget, for instance, that young people under 25 now constitute more than half of the world's population. In many countries the proportion is nearing 60 per cent and in some countries 70 per cent. Their number is expected to reach 4,000 million by 1990. In Europe alone there are 250 million young people.¹ It was at this important and sensitive section of mankind that a hard blow was struck in the middle of this century.

In the first place, it turned out that in the capitalist world the scientific and technological revolution—perfectly normal development that should ostensibly serve the common good—comes into conflict with the vital interests of a sizable section of the working youth. It causes millions of young men and women to become the core of an army of unemployed. This is shown in very accurate statistics.

In the mid-1970s 45.8 per cent of the total number of unemployed in France, 32.7 per cent in Italy, 30 per cent in Britain, over 30 per cent in Bel-

¹ T. Kretova, *Western Europe: The Youth in the Capitalist World*, Moscow, 1979, p. 3.

gium, 47.2 per cent in Denmark, 37.6 per cent in Holland and 28.4 per cent in the Federal Republic of Germany were young people. In October 1980 approximately 40 per cent of the unemployed in the countries of the European Economic Community were aged under 25. There was every likelihood, wrote the *Financial Times*, that of the five million school-leavers one million—or one in five—would never find a job.

This meant that young people who had just started independent life accounted for a third to one half of the total unemployed. In the slums of the big cities youth unemployment was as high as 80-90 per cent. Among the jobless there was particularly large number of boys and girls aged from 16 to 19. Not all of them were immediately aware of what this meant for them.

Bare statistics... But they speak of the fate of a whole generation of social outcasts, of young people who ought to be full of hope of a bright future.

According to the International Labour Organisation the industrial capitalist countries had some seven million unemployed under 25 in 1978. In Britain every third jobless was under 24 and more than 200,000 juveniles were leaving school every year to join the army of the unemployed. In the United States half the totally unemployed in 1980 were not older than 24.

Life is hard for these young people. In Denmark, according to official figures, 45 per cent of the unemployed youth had 7-10 years' schooling.

Why could so many school-leavers not find jobs?

Not only because of the endless economic recessions. The inexorable process mentioned earlier was at work here. As the scientific and technological revolution automates modern industry and makes it more complex, it also requires increasingly skilled and specialised labour, and needs ever fewer unskilled workers.

The needs of production can no longer be met by the former educational standards, not only of engineers and technicians, but also of manual workers. One cannot nowadays be a machine-tool worker without specialised training. In order to be able to perform certain operations one needs to undergo study and specialised training for twelve years or more. A higher level of knowledge and higher occupational skills are required. How can 16-year-old school-leavers get such training? A great many of them fail to get it and find themselves jobless.

It might appear that the students should have been enjoying better conditions and feeling more secure than young workers. But this was not the case. As we have seen, students were more worried and angry than young workers. There were weighty reasons for their being in such a state of mind.

Students in the second half of this century are very different from what they were in the first half, or in earlier times too for that matter. They have undergone a metamorphosis. In the first place, the number of students has greatly increased; second-

ly, the average student today leads a far harder life. These two factors had a decisive impact on the turn of events.

In a period of only ten years (1958-68) the number of students in the United States rose from two to seven million; in 1969 they totalled 7,500,000. In Britain the number nearly doubled in the same period. In West Germany, France and Belgium their number trebled from 1950 to 1964; in Sweden it increased fourfold. In 1970s Western Europe had over three million students; Japan—nearly one million.¹

What sections of the population account for the growth in the number of students over these years? According to statistics, mostly the middle strata and the intelligentsia, and to some extent the working class. It is to this change in the social background of students that we may attribute their active radicalism.

Their mood began to be influenced by the fact that on completing their studies many students faced almost the same difficulties in finding jobs as working-class youth did. Data of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) confirm that among young unemployed there is a steadily growing proportion of persons with a higher education. In Britain, for instance, 20 per cent of those graduating from higher educational establishments were out of work in 1981; this is double the figure for the previous year.

It was not only material need that made them restless. They were very dissatisfied and even ex-

¹ A. Grachev, *Defeat or a Lesson*, Moscow, 1977, p. 18.

asperated by the long fossilised conditions of study: the acute lack of state allocations for public education, the lack of adequate facilities at the universities, the shortage of teaching staff and their low qualifications, archaic curricula, bad students' accommodation, and many other factors.¹ They were disgusted with the whole traditional educational system of capitalist society, established a long time ago for the children of the big bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. They were particularly insistent in demanding a more democratic system of administration of universities.

All this had one result: the universities shifted to the left. Thus there came into being the militants who in the late 1960s and early 1970s stormed university buildings and whole urban blocks and engaged in bloody clashes with the police. For a time they were ready to dare anything.

In what they called "The Charter of the Sorbonne" the rebellious French students who stormed the Latin Quarter in May 1968 stated:

"Formerly we were a mere handful of privileged persons inevitably integrated by society. Today we are too big a 'minority'. We are no longer confident of our future status as leaders. Hence our revolutionism. Henceforth we are working people like all the rest."²

¹ In Britain, for instance, the government plans to dismiss in 1982-84 about 3,000 teachers, to stop teaching altogether several important subjects, and will probably close down some universities. In this connection the London *Guardian* wrote that some universities may be doomed.

² Quoted from Kretova's book, *Western Europe: The Youth in the Capitalist World*, p. 113.

Does this mean that the majority of insurgent students in the West were willing to form a close alliance with the working class—the force without whose participation there can be no genuine revolution?

No, the student leaders of those days showed no such willingness. They relied entirely on themselves, and many of them who had anarchist inclinations sought to replace the working class as the chief revolutionary force of our time. This stand led to their losing the battle; it could not have been otherwise.

That is why many students, the most desperate and resentful of them, began to take the slippery road to terrorism. This was immediately noted by Right-wing as well as pseudo-Left extremists.

Meanwhile ordinary young people, especially those of working-class origin, still faced the same old question: what to do with themselves? To become lumpen-proletarians? Or criminals?

In some countries, such as Italy, many did slide into the underworld, and still do. This will be discussed in the next chapter. We shall only note here that official sources say there has lately been an unprecedented growth of crime in the West, due largely to the influx of young people, often under age, into the underworld.

In France, for instance, juvenile crime increased fourfold in 1972. In Spain people are saying that unless "drastic measures" are taken some 250,000 students may end up as criminals. In the United States twenty is officially stated to be "the most criminal age in the country". The problem is ac-

quiring staggering dimensions, said Norman Carlson, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

It is therefore not surprising that according to an American social research institute two-fifths of the population of the United States live in constant fear of criminals; a quarter of the population feel unsafe in the streets even near their own homes.¹

Moreover, poverty and the hopelessness of their plight lead to personal tragedies in the lives of young people. More and more of them are afraid to get married and start a family. This is borne out by statistics. In Britain the death rate already exceeds the birth rate. The West German magazine *Der Spiegel* wrote on this question: "Does the Federal Republic of Germany face extinction?" The Bremen newspaper *Weser Kurier* noted: "The population of the Federal Republic is decreasing by an average of 200,000 a year... Young people do not show the least desire to marry and even less to have children..."² In Greece, according to the police, 60 per cent of the drug addicts are aged from 13 to 20.

The number of cases of suicide testifies to the desperation of many young people. In the United States the number of suicides committed by persons aged from 20 to 24 nearly doubled in the period from 1965 to 1976. In Federal Germany 6,000 young people commit suicide every year and another 10,000 attempt to do so.

¹ See *Horizont*, Berlin, No. 41/1980, p. 30.

² Quoted from G. S. Alexandrovich, *The Youth in the West: Their Careers and Destinies*, Leningrad, 1977, pp. 28-29.

Not only are young people apprehensive of marriage, many of them lack the courage to face life. Such youngsters do not believe in a better life. This, finally, is yet another reason why they are reckless enough to kill others—a recklessness that has baffled many researchers studying the causes of mounting terrorism in the capitalist world. The youngsters have no scruples about committing murder, especially if the murders are given a political disguise. And such disguises are offered them everywhere.

3.

So in the second half of this century young people in the capitalist world not only had reason to rise in rebellion, but their patience had been so exhausted that they could not help doing so. The ill-considered methods employed by their near-anarchist leaders, such as Daniel Cohn-Bendit in Paris, were bound to fail. The failure was due also largely to the lack of contact in certain countries between the students and leaders of the working masses, the Communists.

But almost all over the world the young people themselves were ready for action. Their rebellion forced the ruling classes in several countries to make minor concessions to students but failed to solve the main problem affecting the youth as a whole—the problem of chronic unemployment. Such problems cannot be resolved by the seizure of universities.

Many people in those years thought that that was

the end of the youth rebellion. The students returned to their hostels and the young workers continued to haunt the labour exchanges or to work in fear of becoming redundant. From this the ruling circles drew the conclusion that the movement had begun to ebb, that the outburst had passed and the youth were unlikely to cause any trouble again.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, the anti-communist who later became the closest adviser of US President Carter, noted with satisfaction two years after the 1968 events that several recent campaigns had been led by people for whom there was less and less room in the new technotronic society. Their reactions, he said, reflected both a conscious and—what was more important—a subconscious awareness that they themselves were historically obsolete... Their composition and their revolutionary slogans were, unfortunately, nothing more than the desperate chatter of rejects of history.¹

Brzezinski was totally mistaken. He failed to understand what was happening deep down in the youth movement and what it was leading to. The youth had not given up. Having failed to obtain satisfaction on the barricades, a considerable section of youth activists began to seek another outlet by going underground and moving towards terrorism.

Only a few years later clandestine organisations like Red Brigades in Italy and Red Army Faction in West Germany began to mushroom. Their founders were these same students, now more exasperated and embittered, ready to commit the most

savage and senseless acts of violence. Their leaders were fanatics of bourgeois stock who cared little even for their own life. Herein lie the roots of today's Left (and not only Left) extremism.

Some of the more thoughtful bourgeois observers sensed at the time what was happening. "Although history does not repeat itself," the Italian newspaper *L'Espresso* wrote at the very beginning of 1976, "and tomorrow will not look like yesterday, or 1978 like 1968, the main participant in the rebellion will again be youth, but not only students this time. Now they will be joined—and this will make the 'blend' even more explosive—by those who will have left secondary school and joined the enormous army of unemployed intellectuals, that is to say, the most useless and disillusioned people who have lost all hope and are therefore the most dangerous."¹

Young people were becoming very explosive social material. This was realised at both extremes of the political scene.

On one side the neo-fascists welcomed them with open arms. Such excited and angry youths were precisely what they needed in order to commence more vigorous activities. After the war the regular reserves of the fascists were small; people were needed to replace those who had fled their countries and the old butchers who had retired and were now growing roses. Even more important was the fact that, after the disgraceful downfall of Hitler's Third Reich and Mussolini's fascist dictatorship, only immature youngsters who knew no-

¹ See Z. Brzezinski, *Between Two Ages*, New York, 1970.

¹ *L'Espresso*, January 4, 1976.

thing about the recent past could be involved in ruthless acts of terrorism.

Moreover, a section of the young postwar generation, facing the prospect of an empty, jobless and aimless life, sought adventure. They were eager to shed blood.

These moods became manifest above all in Italy, West Germany and Japan. But in the United States, France and other Western countries too the neo-fascists stepped up their recruitment of such youths, promising them, as Hitler did in his day, a life of joy and material prosperity.

These were, of course, the least educated and crudest elements, mostly of petty-bourgeois origin, who before the war had gathered round Hitler and Mussolini. But this was precisely what the neo-fascists of "liberal" Western Europe needed: to them these elements were quite suitable human material for forming stormtroopers' groups and SS detachments.

It is difficult to say what portion of today's neo-fascist organisations (including their terrorist groups) is composed of young cadres from these strata, especially as a great deal depends on local circumstances. But there is no doubt that in Italy, West Germany, Britain, Turkey (until recently) and several other countries most members of neo-fascist gangs are drawn from among the youth. The situation may be somewhat different in the United States, where middle-aged philistines were drawn into the racist Ku Klux Klan, and in France, where remembrance of the nazi occupation lives on in the minds of the general public.

However that may be, it is an indisputable fact that the neo-fascists everywhere are doing their utmost to win over discontented youth and involve them in terrorist actions. In November 1972, soon after violent student disturbances, *Il Secolo d'Italia*, the organ of the Italian Social Movement (ISM), a neo-fascist party, wrote plainly: "As many as 800,000 young people are now for the first time looking for work. This reality cannot possibly be controlled by the parties borne of the Resistance (that is, the anti-fascist forces. —E.H.). Blinded by hopelessness, hatred and anger, this mass of people have nothing to lose in this system. We must seize the opportunities they offer us."¹

Young people form the growing membership of such organisations as the Black Order and the Mussolini Action Group in Italy, the British Movement and the National Front in Britain, the Young Americans for Freedom in the United States, the Nationalist Action Party in Turkey, the Islami Jamaat Tuhaba in Pakistan, the Rengo Sekigun, the Death League for Combating Communism and the Yakusa in Japan. Also in this category are the Weathermen in the United States, the Corps for Struggle Against Communism in Brazil, the Tacuara and Alpha 66 in Argentina, the Ojo por ojo in Guatemala and the Mobilised Uruguayan Youth.

The same trend is more marked in West Germany, where Martin Müssgnug, leader of the National Democratic Party (NDP), was formerly a member of the Hitler-sponsored Students' Union.

¹ *Il Secolo d'Italia*, November 27, 1972.

A survey conducted in Bavaria several years ago found that 40 per cent of the young people questioned said they would welcome the emergence of a dictator if he were a "capable statesman". In Federal Germany as a whole this opinion was shared by 33 per cent of the young people interviewed. How many of them have already been recruited to terrorist groups?

Antje Huber, Bonn Minister for Youth, Family and Health Affairs, said: "With growing concern I see a section of young people showing an ever keener interest in Right-wing ideology, in the personality of the Führer, in the 'romance of the Wehrmacht'."¹ This interest is obviously the result of neo-nazi activity.

Schoolchildren have also been brainwashed. More than 40 per cent of secondary school pupils say that they have no objection to "National-Socialists occupying key positions" in the country.

The extent of the systematic neo-nazi corruption of West German schoolchildren can be seen from the following fact. In October 1978 Frankfurt on the Main TV conducted a survey asking youngsters how they would rule the country if they were given the opportunity; 15-year-old Armin (surname not given) replied: "First of all there must be a real purge of the country. The number of old people and invalids, and perhaps children too, must be reduced. And then I would discard all the old and weak, the invalids. A healthy people is what I want

to have." Asked what he meant by "discard", Armin answered: "Well, eliminate, liquidate."

A 13-year-old pupil called Kai-Uwe agreed with Armin and added that he would hang opponents by their feet, rub salt into their wounds and torture them to death.¹

This youngster is a fully-fashioned terrorist, a sadist of the Oswiecim type and proud of being so.

This is how would-be neo-fascist terrorists are being drilled west of the Elbe River.

Left extremist cadres are trained in a different way. Though young, they are drawn from the more mature and cultured section of their generation. They are students (except for the lumpen-proletarians, who require no special "education") who are sincerely seeking a solution to the crisis of bourgeois society and to their own personal crisis. Many of them become extremists under the influence of ultra-Left professors who, despite their scholarship, have failed to grasp the essence of Marxism-Leninism and easily lapse into anarchism. This was evident again in Italy, where professors like Antonio Negri² welcomed the storming of universities by their students.

Unlike the neo-fascists, the Left extremists do not promise young people material well-being and a profitable career. On the contrary, they work on them with great subtlety, warning them that many difficulties, persecution, great sacrifices and possibly death lie in wait for them. But a life is offered full of risky ventures attractive to such ele-

¹ Quoted from an article by L. Istyagin in *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya* ("The World Economy and International Relations"), No. 1, 1979, p. 102.

¹ *Horizont*, Berlin, No. 3, 1979, p. 21.

² See Chapter Four.

ments. It should be added that some of the young people truly fear nothing.

It is a fact that without the participation of youth the Left extremist organisations in various countries of the capitalist world could not exist. Young men and women from 18 to 29 years of age constitute their core, though their leaders are usually older. Generally speaking, it were the students, with the help of certain elements from the lumpen-proletariat, who founded present-day Left extremism. As for Italy, the 557,000 votes which ultra-Left organisations won in the parliamentary elections of 1976 most probably came from that part of the community.¹

Obviously, both Right and Left extremists in the second half of this century have come to one and the same conclusion and are staking on one and the same social stratum. The youth can today become such an active and influential factor on the political scene that no effort is being spared to win them over. Recruiters for both organisations regard the ecstatic and susceptible youngsters primarily as cannon fodder for their combat detachments. Political extremism and terrorism are but one step apart.

On the political level, however, the period of youth is not a long one. An 18-year-old youth who joins an ultra-Right or ultra-Left terrorist organisation and is drawn into the whirlpool of "adventure" more often than not abandons terrorism (if he has survived it) when he becomes a mature

¹ Despite the "ebb" of the movement in the 1970s radical students in Italy did not lay down arms. In the spring of 1977 they wrecked campuses in Rome and Bologna.

man seven or eight years later; he then takes up a trade and starts a family.

But young people as a turbulent social force do not leave the scene. The youths who leave are continuously replaced by an ever increasing flow of yesterday's teenagers, who find themselves in the same situation and in the same state of mind as their predecessors. Both Right and Left take due account of this. In other words, the youth rebellion continues without a break.

For nearly two centuries bourgeois society has really feared only the working class. It now finds it has to fear another force—young people who until recently were ordered to listen and do as they are told. They number approximately 2,000 million.

However it is not only youths who are recruited by the extremists at both poles. It may be said that the extremists rely on the lumpen-proletariat as their second social prop.

Mobilisation of the Lumpen-Proletariat

1.

Active on the scene in today's capitalist world are the same main social forces which have been clashing throughout modern times—the working class, on the one hand, and the capitalist class, on the other, with the petty bourgeoisie between them. The last few decades, however, have seen persistent attempts to bring on to the world scene another force which has always been in the backyards of bourgeois society and has played no independent role in political life. This force is the lumpen-proletariat.

Although these attempts are ultimately doomed to fail, they are to a certain extent reflected in present-day world developments.

The *lumpen-proletarian*¹ is the man at the "bottom", standing on the lowest step of the social ladder and who, through his own fault, is met with general distrust and even contempt. He belongs to no class, recognises no morality, does not participate in any productive work and violates the law whenever he can. He is against one and all and stands for himself alone. Although in conflict with society, he shuns revolutionary struggle to trans-

¹ Derived from the German *lumpen* meaning "rags".

form society and he scorns discipline; he is more interested in crime than in politics. Hating the bourgeoisie, he hankers after the property of individual bourgeois. He prefers leading a parasitic existence to doing any useful work.

He is ambitious for personal gain but has no ideals. He is willing to commit a crime for money and is therefore easily bribed. As a rule he believes in nothing and in nobody. To win him over to the side of the working class is virtually impossible. He remains an outsider.

Who constitute the lumpen-proletariat? The classics of Marxism-Leninism gave a clear definition of them. Marx called them the "offal", the "scum" of the classes.¹ Referring in his book *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* to the "Society of December 10", the organisation of lumpen-proletarians set up in Paris in 1849 by Louis Bonaparte, Marx wrote of its composition: "Alongside decayed *roués* with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, rogues, mountebanks, *lazzaroni* (lumpen-proletarians incited by the clergy against liberals.—*E.H.*), pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaus*, brothel keepers, porters, *literati*, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars—in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither."²

¹ Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, K. Marx and F. Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*

Marx described how venal French lumpen-proletarians did dirty work for the palace clique because they "felt the need of benefiting themselves at the expense of the labouring nation".¹ He called the organisation of the lumpen-proletarians a "society of disorder, prostitution and theft"², and considered them the enemy of the working class.

Lenin too touched upon the lumpen-proletariat in his works and he too noted their parasitism and social inconsistency. Speaking about conditions in capitalist society, Lenin wrote that it is "the society in which poverty and want forced thousands and thousands on to the path of rowdyism, corruption and roguery, and caused them to lose all human semblance... The rich and the rogues are two sides of the same coin, they are the two principal categories of *parasites* which capitalism fostered."³

While sharply condemning the lumpen-proletariat for its anti-social nature, Lenin emphasised its numerical strength. In *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899) he said that the non-working population included "nearly half a million beggars, tramps, etc., etc."⁴ Returning to the same subject three years later because of the famine in Russia, Lenin drew attention to "the increasing number of tramps and beggars, who frequent doss-houses and fill the prisons and hospi-

¹ Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, K. Marx and F. Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*

³ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 411.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 504.

tals".¹ In his pamphlet *To the Rural Poor*, published two years before the 1905 revolution, Lenin points out that in villages the unemployed are starving, "while in the towns they swell the ranks of the 'tramps' and 'down-and-outs', find refuge like beasts in dug-outs on the outskirts of towns, or in dreadful slums and cellars, such as those in the Khitrov Market in Moscow".²

But Lenin expressed no sympathy for the people "at the bottom" rotting in their basements and refusing to take the revolutionary path. Despite the poverty of the lumpen-proletarians, Lenin, like Marx, sharply differentiated them from the working class and noted their unscrupulous and mercenary nature, observing that the bourgeoisie widely used them against the workers. During the days of the general strike in Zurich in 1912 Lenin drew attention to the fact that among the strike-breakers hired by Swiss employers in Hamburg were "all sorts of criminals convicted in Germany for pandering, brawling, etc. The capitalists supplied this riff-raff or gang of convicts (lumpen-proletarians) with pistols. The brazen band of strike-breakers filled the taverns in the workers' district and there engaged in unheard-of hooliganism."³

Lenin was even more severe towards the remnants of the lumpen-proletariat in Russia after the 1917 October Revolution, who even then continued to fill the underworld. Lenin reckoned the "rogues, the idlers and the rowdies" among enemies of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 274.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 371.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 18, p. 161.

people. "These enemies," he wrote, "must be placed under the special surveillance of the entire people; they must be ruthlessly punished for the slightest violation of the laws and regulations of socialist society."¹

That is how Marx and Lenin appraised the lumpen-proletarians. The great leaders of the proletariat did not spare them.

Other prominent Marxists had the same opinion of the lumpen-proletariat. Rosa Luxemburg wrote in 1918: "The struggle with the lumpen-proletariat presents a special problem of great importance for every revolution. It has to be coped with in Germany and elsewhere. The lumpen-proletarian element came into being in bourgeois society not only as a special stratum, as the drags of society which grow with terrific speed, particularly when the walls of the social system collapse, but also as an inalienable part of society as a whole... Proletarian revolutions everywhere will have to fight this enemy and instrument of counter-revolution."² In the days when nazism was in the ascendant Rosa Luxemburg's prediction proved correct.

Today we may say that in the years which have passed since Marx and Lenin made their pronouncements the nature of the lumpen-proletariat has not changed. As before, it stands outside the bounds of the working class and has nothing to do with the revolutionary movement. It still takes refuge in the backyards of bourgeois society, thinks of itself only and prefers a parasitic existence to

normal work. Its anti-social feelings have grown even stronger. In our day too it hates and envies the bourgeoisie without fighting it and it acts against it only as criminals and hooligans. As formerly, it has no ideals. But, if the lumpen-proletariat itself has not changed, many things around it have changed and this is leading to important consequences for it.

2.

Despite the dynamic growth of modern industry, the size of the lumpen-proletariat, the declassed section of the population, far from decreasing, has considerably increased in our time. This is due to the general crisis of capitalism. The scientific and technological revolution increases the size of the lumpen-proletariat because redundant unskilled workers are all the time joining its ranks. Another result of the crisis is the growing number of full-time criminals and prostitutes, the appearance of a new kind of tramp—the hippie (to be considered later) and an increasing number of vagrants and the like. The lumpen-proletariat of today is undoubtedly greater in size and broader in variety than in the 19th century, but it has failed to become more enlightened and less mercenary; if anything, it has become more venal.

The most characteristic feature of today's lumpen-proletariat is definitely its increased bent for crime, and the most malicious and violent crime too. The underworld has always formed the core of the lumpen-proletariat. Today it merges with it.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 411.

² Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 4, p. 361.

Organised crime in the capitalist world, as is well known, has in recent years become quantitatively and qualitatively different from what it was before the Second World War. Never in its history has capitalism ever produced such a colossal amount of crime as today. In the United States, for instance, the number of criminals runs to many millions who in several cases have syndicates feared by the whole nation and even by the government itself.

This section of the lumpen-proletariat today is not necessarily associated with "rags" and does not shelter in doss-houses; quite often it leads a more luxurious life than the average bourgeois. Its ring-leaders even live on the fat of the land. But its attitudes remain the same: crime is better than a progressive policy. Its syndicate in the United States draws from crime an income officially estimated at more than 4,000 million dollars a year. In other words, there is a criminal big business operating with the aid, whenever necessary, of a wide terrorist network. It is the lumpen-proletariat that supplies the cadres for the operations of the syndicate, which today virtually supervises lumpen-proletarians all over the country.

According to figures published in 1980 by the US Research and Forecasts Incorporated, in the last thirty years the number of robberies in the US has risen by 300 per cent and the number of murders by 370 per cent. In the US in 1980 there was a murder every 24 minutes, a rape every seven minutes, a gangster attack every 51 seconds, and a burglary every ten seconds. It is estimated that crime in the US rose by 176 per cent from 1960

to 1970 alone, while the population grew by a mere 14 per cent; crime is growing twelve times faster.

According to police reports 1,733 murders were committed in New York in 1979, and 1,787 murders in 1980, which is 60 per cent more than in 1970, although in the past ten years the city's population decreased by one million. There were 226 violent crimes in a single day. Every fourth person interviewed in New York said he dare not go out alone in the evening. In Washington in 1980, according to *The Washington Post*, a murder was committed every 50 hours; in Los Angeles more than 1,000 murders were registered in the first half of 1981 alone. Early in 1976 it was stated that the jail population in the US had reached nearly a quarter of a million—a record figure in America's history. But since the authorities manage to catch and punish only a fraction of the serious offenders (according to some estimates, one in every twelve crimes is unsolved; according to others, one in every fifty), the underworld continues to flourish and attract more and more declassed elements. This presents an ever increasing threat to society.

Similar developments, though on a lesser scale, are to be observed in other Western countries. In Britain, as stated by the Chief of Police of Lincolnshire County in April 1976, the number of violent crimes has been doubling every year. Japan had 1,234,307 crimes in 1975, a third of which remained unsolved. More than two million crimes were committed in Italy in 1976.

In the Federal Republic of Germany an average of two robberies or burglaries take place every minute; the damage done amounts to thousands mil-

lion marks a year. Here, as in the United States, it is not only the number of crimes that has been increasing, but also the proportion of professional criminals. In Italy the number of crimes doubled from 1970 to 1975.

At the present time there is another reserve, actually nearly as big, which is joining the ranks of the lumpen-proletariat. It is young people who are unsettled due to the economic, political and moral crisis of capitalist society. The facts show that quite a few petty-bourgeois and even working-class youths are losing confidence in the capitalist system and sinking to the bottom of society; they begin to lead the life of lumpen-proletarians and even find satisfaction in it. These number tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands of teenagers of both sexes.

In the United States at one time they included a section of what were called "hippies"—young people, often teenagers, who had broken with their families, given up regular work, thrown off "the chains of culture" and started wandering aimlessly all over the country. Most of them did not find their way to the working-class movement and they devised all sorts of absurd ideas and cults. The numbers of such lumpen-proletarians did not dwindle as time passed and the authorities had to tackle them seriously. Not so long ago some hippies formed motorcycle gangs and roamed the country, often engaging in sheer banditry. In the cities they associated themselves with gangs of bandits for criminal purposes. The case of the "Manson gang", which consisted of several dozen boys and

girls and killed 35 people to "intimidate" others, shook the whole of America in 1969-71.

It is the lumpen-proletariat which stands to gain from the declassing of a section of young people in the capitalist world. The economic cause of this process is the mass unemployment that has swept the capitalist countries and hit the youth particularly hard. It is not surprising that the more desperate young people try to find a way out in crime. In the spring of 1976 more than half the prisoners in federal and state jails in the United States were persons from 17 to 29 years of age who had lost their jobs or failed to find work after leaving school or college. In the same year it was established that almost half the crimes committed in the US were by persons up to 20 years of age. Thus large numbers of young people willy-nilly become lumpen-proletarians, many of them for life.

These, of course, are the more immature and backward elements among the unemployed. The conscious majority search for a solution by joining the working-class movement, which protects their vital interests. Yet the process of demoralising and declassing a section of unemployed youth continues.

Can we really believe that young criminals, hippies and similar elements are a temporary phenomenon attributable just to the economic crisis? No. They appeared on the scene in large numbers well before the crisis of the 1960s. The roots of the process of declassing a section of the youth in the capitalist world go much deeper: as already mentioned, they lead not only to a grave economic

crisis in that world, but also to the general decay of bourgeois society.

Similar phenomena to be observed in countries of Asia and Latin America may be noted at this point. In these parts of the world too the lumpen-proletariat is being noticeably drawn into politics and plays a definitely counter-revolutionary role. For instance, when reactionary bands mounted their attacks in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, on February 21 and 22, 1980, local declassed elements and criminals were on their side. With their help the counter-revolutionaries broke into shops and restaurants, destroying property and looting; they threw stones at cars and set fire to them, and even tried to blow up the bakery so that the people of Kabul would remain without bread. They threatened to kill anyone who refused to be their accomplice. It is also indicative that in Iran the reactionary gangs carrying out pogroms at the time of the anti-Shah revolution of 1978 included criminals from the underworld along with agents of the Shah's police and army officers.

Such is the basic composition of today's lumpen-proletariat. No significant changes have taken place in its composition over the years. The underworld still constitutes the core of this stratum. Thieves, swindlers, assassins, tramps, beggars, prostitutes and the dregs of bourgeois society still exist. Mountebanks, organ-grinders, *lazzaroni*, rag-pickers and the like, of whom Marx spoke in 1852, have disappeared, or very few remain. But those who have now taken their place are no closer to the organised working class. What is more, when manipulated by forces alien and hostile to the working

class, the lumpen-proletariat can today become an even more dangerous weapon than before.

As already pointed out, the composition of the lumpen-proletariat has in the main remained unchanged. But has it changed in its way of thinking and attitudes? Only in one thing: it has become more hardened and ruthless.

It should be borne in mind that brutality has always been inherent in these elements. The leaders and political inspirers of the lumpen-proletarians have invariably taught them to despise all morality and philanthropy. In the 19th century it was the anarchists and like-minded men who propagated misanthropy.

Sergei Nechaev, Bakunin's¹ comrade-in-arms, dreamt of leading a bloody rebellion of peasants and tramps in Russia and taught them to be ferocious and pitiless. His ideas (we shall return to them in the next chapter dealing in detail with today's ultra-Left terrorists) were tantamount to a programme of mass slaughter, not of political revolution, which drew no distinction between revolutionaries and criminals and merged both in reckless escapades of bandit lumpen-proletarians. There could be no clearer exposure of the mentality of the criminal lumpen-proletariat. Marx held this preaching of brutality up to shame. In the anarchist programme the leader of the international proletariat immediately saw not only a complete lack

¹ Mikhail A. Bakunin (1814-76) and Sergei G. Nechaev (1847-82)—revolutionary anarchists who sought to fight tsarism by means of adventurist conspiracies and peasant uprisings and who denied the historic role of the working class and its revolutionary theory.—Ed.

of realistic revolutionary thought, but also unbridled hatred for the working class and its scientific method of struggle, for its social stability and purposefulness.

Nechaev and Bakunin did their utmost to kindle "evil passions" in the lumpen-proletarians, but to no avail. In the early 20th century there were continuers of their doctrine—on the opposite side of the political scene. The first to propagate brute violence anew among the mass of the lumpen-proletariat, directing the propaganda not against the bourgeoisie but again, as under Louis Bonaparte, against the Left camp, were the Russian monarchists, who in 1905 set up a large Black Hundreds organisation, "The Russian People's Union", to combat the revolutionaries. In addition to shopkeepers, haunters of pot-houses, priests and kulaks, it recruited with police help whole gangs of criminals and ruffians. These gangs attacked workers and revolutionaries, organised pogroms and stole wherever they could. But the dregs in the pay of the tsarist police failed to prevent the proletarian revolution from triumphing.

Twenty-five years later the example of Russia's arch-reactionaries was followed on an incomparably greater scale by the nazis in Germany. Long before the severe economic crisis of 1929-33 had deprived six million German workers of their jobs, Hitler had begun systematically to select, along with youngsters from the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, lumpen-proletarians for his "stormtroopers". It is a mistake to think that the petty bourgeoisie alone formed the mass base of nazism in the early years of its rise. Its other pillar of support was the

unprecedentedly large lumpen-proletariat that emerged in the late 1920s as a result of inflation and unemployment in Germany. A particularly large number of lumpen-proletarians joined the nazis in the capital of the Third Reich, then the centre of the German underworld. The hero, and at one time the leader, of the Berlin stormtroopers was Horst Wessel, formerly a pimp. It was in his honour that the nazi national anthem was named.

How much did Hitler pay the lumpen-proletarians to get them to work for him? More than the Russian tsar paid the Black Hundred hirelings. The nazi assassins were not only paid a fixed sum, but were given uniforms, housed in barracks and provided with pocket money. They were also solemnly promised the new rank of "gentry" which Hitler planned. The vagabonds and thieves were given assurances that they would soon be made managers and wealthy proprietors in the lands conquered by the Führer, that in this way they would at last acquire a high class status. On the basis of this deal the lumpen-proletarians were drilled in the techniques of political provocation and they in turn taught the nazis all kinds of brutality.

One of those who from the outset zealously implanted typical lumpen-proletarian ways in Hitler's party was Gauleiter Julius Streicher, the organiser of anti-Semitic pogroms. With Hitler's sanction this cutthroat almost openly called for total extermination of the Jews. Another exponent of genocide was Heinrich Himmler, a more important figure, who included the Slav peoples among the nations due for mass annihilation. On becoming chief of the state security service he began to organise mass

terror directly from a high level, using as his tools the sons of smug philistines and militarised lumpen-proletarians.

Addressing a private meeting of SS officers on October 4, 1943, Himmler declared: "The question of whether the people (of the countries conquered by nazi Germany.—*E.H.*) will flourish or starve to death interests me only insofar as they are needed as slaves for our civilisation; I am not interested in anything else... We must be honest, decent and comradely only towards people of our own blood and to nobody else." Such instructions suited the lumpen-proletarians fine, even more than the petty bourgeois, many of whom were still hampered by remnants of their bourgeois morality. A call to indulge in brutality, and on a worldwide scale too, was exactly what they were longing for.

Earlier, in May 1944, Dr. Sigmund Rascher, an SS man, had asked Himmler for permission to carry out experiments of the following kind at the Dachau concentration camp: to keep people naked for 9-14 hours at a temperature of 27 to 30 degrees Centigrade below zero and then to check whether they could be revived by warming. Himmler gave permission. About 300 inmates of the camp died, some went mad. On October 24, 1942, Himmler wrote to Rascher: "I read your report on the freezing of people with great interest... I consider those who still oppose such experiments on people to be guilty of high treason... I personally think these experiments will yield results of permanent value."

Such pronouncements by Himmler (many are known) were not an expression of plain sadism,

nor were they a symptom of insanity. They were primarily a political measure—to foster fanatical cruelty in the minds of the nazis. Many of the German lumpen-proletarians who became warders at nazi concentration camps and made their careers there were able to satisfy their brute instincts in German towns and even more so in nazi-occupied territories. There is no doubt that the acts of genocide perpetrated by the nazis during the Second World War were the work not only of the big and petty bourgeoisie of Germany, but also of the German lumpen-proletariat. Yet, the lumpen-proletariat as a whole ultimately gained nothing at all from their alliance with the nazis.

Within only a year and a half of the advent of the Hitlerites to power, the lumpen-proletariat were sacrificed for the sake of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois members of the nazi party, who now filled the ranks of the dominating SS establishment. It was not the stormtroopers, among whom there were thousands of lumpen-proletarians, but the SS men who gained the upper hand and began to rule the Third Reich. The reason is simple. Although Hitler was a typical ruffian in his youth, after creating a large fascist party and seizing power he went over to the camp of the monopoly bourgeoisie and began to carry out its orders. German fascism crudely exploited the lumpen-proletariat as the French Bonapartist bourgeoisie had done before.

In our day the lumpen-proletariat still remains a declassed mass that is being energetically recruited by forces conducting an adventurist policy of one trend or another. It is being lured today by three

forces—the neo-fascists, the neo-anarchists and the Maoists.

3.

As we have seen, the history of recent times proves that the lumpen-proletariat, despite its size and readiness to commit the most aggressive acts, could never in the past be considered an independent political force. Whenever necessary it was bribed or hired and used by reactionary class groups for their own ends; but it did not and could not play an independent role in social life—it was inherently incapable of doing so. Unlike the working class and the peasantry, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie, on the other, the declassed and mixed mass of lumpen-proletarians possessed neither the brains nor the will-power to strive for power. This is due to their “amazing instability and inability to fight,”¹ Lenin noted.

Should one consider that only a lumpen-proletarian can head the lumpen-proletariat? Definitely no. Marx made this plain. Dealing with the “Society of December 10”, a lumpen-proletarian organisation that came into being in Paris in 1849, he wrote of Louis Bonaparte as one “who constitutes himself *chief of the lumpen-proletariat*, who here alone rediscovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues”². In the same work Marx repeated that Louis Bonaparte headed the lumpen-prole-

tariat of Paris. The leaders of the Black Hundreds “Russian People’s Union” were Dubrovin, a physician, and landowners Markov Jr. and Purishkevich. The führer of the nazis was Hitler, previously a lumpen-proletarian, who later deserted to the bourgeoisie and the oligarchy of monopoly capital. Today other forces are hoping to conduct similar operations with the lumpen-proletariat.

As for the neo-fascists, their longing to repeat Hitler’s experience is evident wherever their organisations have sprung up after the Second World War. They have a special motive.

Account should be taken of the fact that the social base of present-day fascism has considerably narrowed. Support from its former followers, the petty bourgeoisie, is no longer guaranteed to the same extent: despite the acute economic crisis, the petty bourgeoisie has been moving to the left rather than to the right. The same is true of the unemployed youth. But the fascists are still able to bribe some of the dare-devil lumpen-proletarians, including those of the underworld, and those whom the economic crisis has turned from workers into vagabonds. The facts show that neo-fascist gangs nearly everywhere, especially in the United States, France, Italy and West Germany, are largely composed of professional cutthroats, bandits and demoralised youths.

No wonder the fascists are again deliberately spreading the most brutal lumpen-proletarian attitudes among their supporters. One of their organs in the United States, the magazine *Kill!*, wrote in the 1960s that it was human nature to kill, a man had to kill to get on. The Negroes had to be

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 394.

² K. Marx, F. Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 149.

shown who the real masters were, who were the greatest killers in the world. White men should draw their swords, strike their enemies down and kill, kill, kill.

Such calls can arouse only loathing in normal people. They may impress lumpen-proletarians, though by no means all of them.

Another American neo-fascist, a clergyman from Dallas, wrote in a booklet in the 1960s that if you need to kill an enemy, kill him in such a way that your other enemies are intimidated. A corpse doesn't care whether it has a head or not, he said. But from the psychological point of view anyone seeing a headless corpse will imagine himself as one and will shudder from horror.

This is Himmler's language again. The outlook of the "professional" lumpen-proletarians remains virtually unchanged; the description of them which Marx and Lenin gave is still valid today. In their motives and inclinations they are essentially the same as in the days of Louis Bonaparte, Markov Jr. and Hitler. Knowing this, the neo-fascists woo them in every way and fan their hatred for one and all. The neo-fascist statements I have just quoted belong to the 1960s. Let us see what has happened in the United States in the last ten years.

In June 1970 a Los Angeles court started hearing the sensational case of the lumpen-proletarian "Manson gang" which had murdered 35 people. The trial lasted nine months. The murders were committed not with intent to rob, not from revenge, fear or other customary causes in criminal cases; but, as it transpired, with the intention of

intimidating the public. In most cases the murderers did not even know whom they were killing and they acted without any obvious gain to themselves. It was murder for the sake of murder.

It also became known that the victims were stabbed with knives even after their death. One was hanged after being murdered. One of the accused, Susan Atkins, a hippie girl of 21, told a cellmate that the gang intended to tear out the eyes of murdered people and squash them on the wall, and cut off their fingers. I knew this was only the beginning, she said. According to the witness, Atkins said this as if she were talking about something quite natural that could be done every day of the week. The more you do it, she said, the more you like it.

She also told her cellmate the names of well-known persons who were to be slaughtered. When interrogated, Atkins giggled as she described atrocious murders. After the trial she showed not the slightest sign of repentance or regret. She told her other mate in prison that she had at last reached the point when she could kill her parents. The other members of the gang, also hippies, were convicted of murder and intent to murder. The main defendant, 35-year-old Manson, the gang leader, who had spent half of his life in prison for criminal offences, founded the "murderers' school"; giving the girl accomplices a knife each, he showed them in full detail how to cut people down. The skulls of some of those murdered were to be put on poles to intimidate others. One witness said the gangsters laughed after each murder committed in the Manson style.

Sadism, mental derangement? Both. But it is brutality brought to "perfection" again for a political purpose. The mentality of the Manson gangsters strikingly resembles that of Hitler's SS men who killed and tortured people in death camps. There is the same total contempt for moral principles as if they did not exist. The same deliberate inhumanity. And the same uncompromising anti-social trend. Manson and Atkins differ little, if at all, from Mengele, the nazi doctor who stitched live children to each other.

That lumpen-proletarians of the Manson type are very close to fascism was proved in the course of the investigation. Manson himself revered Hitler, calling him a fine guy who had the right answer to every question. Manson was a thorough racist who believed the Aryan race was superior to all others, and apparently knew something of Nietzsche. The prosecutor in Manson's case said later that Manson regarded himself as no less a historic figure than Hitler. After the trial the prosecutor expressed his belief that Manson could with luck have been a second Hitler.

It was found that Manson had intended to merge his supporters with the motorcycle gangs of hippies so as to travel about the country and the world, indiscriminately catching and slaughtering people, "freeing people from life on this earth". Their aim? To terrorise society. This is precisely one of the principal methods of present-day fascism and its strategy of creating tension. By turning some people into beasts and destroying others its leaders hope somehow to achieve their goal when the opportunity presents itself.

The case of the Manson gang is only one of many instances. According to the FBI, most armed robberies in the United States are accompanied by the beating up of innocent people, the infliction of serious wounds and even murder. They point not only to a wish to live off other people's wealth, but also to the brutality typical of lumpen-proletarians. One may presume that if one day the vast underworld of the United States, in fear of prosecution or as a result of generous bribery, resolutely turns towards fascism through the Mafia, "liberal" America will be confronted with a serious threat. The millions of criminals can undoubtedly become the core of a large fascist organisation. A resourceful and demagogically eloquent adventurer-führer who has the financial resources and whose character is a blend of Hitler, Manson and supergangster Al Capone could carry through such a plan.

It should be added that something similar, though on a far smaller scale, is to be observed today in other capitalist countries. For instance, close contacts between criminals and the neo-fascists in Italy were brought to light in September 1975. Earlier the National Democratic Party (NDP), a neo-nazi party in West Germany, nominated two infamous criminals as candidates for election to the local government body in Dieburg. An NDP leader, named Otte, tried to rob a bank in Braunschweig. Among the 30,000 members of various neo-fascist organisations in Japan there are numerous lumpen-proletarians and professional criminals. Participants in neo-fascist demonstrations are paid by the hour. The Japanese fascist

party headed by the terrorist Akao is largely composed of professional criminals. In August 1976 the Portuguese police uncovered a fascist terrorist organisation which along with traders and former owners of enterprises included persons associated with the underworld. Reliance on the lumpen-proletariat is now typical of international neo-fascism as a whole, which is staking on terrorism.

The same is true of today's Left extremists. In Italy the lumpen-proletarians are eager to join ultra-Left organisations in the hope of earning a livelihood, obtaining shelter, arms and protection from the police. For their part some ultra-Left "theoreticians" openly claim that as a revolutionary force the working class should be replaced by the lumpen-proletariat and the strata close to it.

It is indicative, for instance, that the Armed Proletarian Nuclei (NAP), an ultra-Left terrorist group which was at one time influential in southern Italy (where the Mafia has been particularly strong), was founded by lumpen-proletarians. Its founders were criminals who in the late 1960s organised riots in nearly all Italy's prisons and went so far as to demand the total abolition of jails. Subsequently the NAP continued to recruit members from among elements "rejected by society". It may be said that ultra-Left politicians approve of the lumpen-proletarians while the latter urge the ultra-Leftists to commit bloody acts.

Thus both the neo-fascists and the ultra-Left terrorists are counting on the lumpen-proletariat. Later we shall see that the Maoists are pursuing similar plans. As before the lumpen-proletariat is playing no independent role. It is incapable of

undertaking serious political actions. Regardless of whether it is directed to the right or left, objectively it always serves reactionary forces.

Lumpen-proletarians cannot be revolutionaries. The working class, which acts in alliance with the peasantry and the working intelligentsia, remains the main social force opposing the capitalist world. As in the past, the working class and the lumpen-proletariat have no common goals. In socialist society the lumpen-proletariat inevitably gradually disappears; only in such a society can its social problem be solved.

In capitalist society, however, the lumpen-proletariat has not yet come to the end of its life road. Those who seek to exploit it for their sinister aims will go to every length to make it even more unruly and ferocious, and to drive it to the most outrageous terrorist ventures. But whatever may happen, the lifespan allotted to the lumpen-proletariat in history is not limitless.

What Do the Red Brigades Want?

1.

The rebellious section of the youth and students and the ever growing lumpen-proletariat are the two strata from which terrorists recruit supporters, regarding them as their natural social ally. What are terrorist organisations?

Politically they seem to be divided into two opposed camps—ultra-Right and Left extremist, though it is not always easy to differentiate one from the other; in many ways their methods and even goals are similar.

There is hardly a capitalist country today in which ultra-Left organisations are not active. In the major bourgeois states terrorist groups almost inevitably emerge from these organisations and set up branches in various towns. They rarely have more than a few hundred active members, in some cases only a few dozen, but usually they have many secret confederates in a variety of social circles, including those frequented by the bourgeoisie. In many terrorist groups there are police *agents provocateurs*.

In the last decade such groups have been operating in Italy, West Germany (the Red Army Fac-

tion or the Baader-Meinhof Group), Spain (the GRAPO group), France (the *L'Action directe* group), the United States, Japan (Rengo Sekigun), and in several countries of Asia and Latin America.

In Italy the ultra-Left terrorists came to the fore almost straightaway due to special local circumstances. The majority of them belong to the so-called Red Brigades (RB), which murdered former Prime Minister Aldo Moro in 1978 and have been responsible for several other acts that caused a nationwide sensation. In April 1981 they kidnapped C. Cirillo, a prominent figure in the Christian Democratic Party and a supporter of Moro's policy. Besides the Red Brigades such groups as Front Line, Worker Autonomy, Armed Proletarian Nuclei (NAP), Revolutionary Action and Combatant Communist Units¹ are active in Italy.

Despite their pompous revolutionary titles, none of these organisations has anything in common with the Communist and working-class movement, which in fact they fervently oppose. Some of them, especially the smaller groups, disappear soon after they are formed because of arrests and internal quarrels.

The Red Brigades emerged in the course of the student riots that stirred Italy in 1968 and took definite shape in 1970, when they first used bombs in their operations. In 1972 they began to engage almost continuously in the kidnapping and murder of well-known politicians, government officials and sometimes even trade union leaders. In their own

¹ *Le Nouvel Observateur*, January 12-18, 1981, p. 31.

circles they describe such actions as "urban guerilla warfare".

Their active members include quite a few desperate students and no less confused intellectuals, as well as lumpen-proletarians.

According to the Italian police, the Red Brigades had no more than a thousand members in the late 1970s. The organisation has iron regulations—they are even stricter than those of the People's Reprisal terrorist group, which Nechaev founded in Russia in 1869. For several years, until he has proved his devotion "in action", a new member knows few other members. The Brigades are divided into "columns" operating mostly in the cities—in Rome, Milan, Turin, Genoa and Bologna. They are all subordinated to an "Executive Committee".

But it is no secret that the "mastermind political centre" of the Brigades is hidden in high security prisons, which are full of Red Brigades activists. "Instead of getting out of jail," writes *Rinascita*, theoretical journal of the Italian Communist Party, "members of the Red Brigades seek to get into it. In other words, for ideological reasons the ultra-Left terrorists wish to turn jails into a 'Red base' or, more precisely, into anti-government cells, a kind of centre for an illegal government which will administer state institutions and society. In this connection it may be noted that the logic underlying their actions is no different from the logic pursued by the ringleaders of the underworld."¹

The prison as centre of a revolutionary govern-

¹ *Rinascita*, No. 4, January 23, 1981, p. 6.

ment administering society! Perhaps the mysterious "Executive Committee" of the Red Brigades holds its sessions in prison, too? Such an idea never occurred even to Dostoyevsky in *The Devils*.

Notwithstanding all this, the police have for several years been unable to prevent a single major act of terrorism by the Red Brigades. This is apparently not only because the Brigades consist of fanatics who would stop at nothing, the Brigades' leadership must have some kind of links with the police and the secret service.

The second major terrorist organisation is Front Line, which appeared in the summer of 1977 in southern Italy, where poverty has been particularly rampant, and then spread to the north as well. At first it preferred wrecking equipment at enterprises and in shops, and planting bombs in police barracks; but later it switched to murder.

Worker Autonomy (RB) and its affiliated group "P 38" (the name of a pistol) specialise in inciting students to clash with the police. They also persecute Communists, whom they call "enemies of the working class". Being well armed, members of these groups provoke bloody clashes during peaceful demonstrations by democratic forces. Antonio Negri, the well-known professor of Padua University, is in prison for being a member of the Worker Autonomy organisation.

What are the aims of these organisations and gangs?

In October 1980 Pierre Blanchet, a correspondent of the French *Le Nouvel Observateur*, managed to meet Marcello and Alessandro in a mountain village, two refugees from Italy who allegedly re-

pented of what they did as members of the ultra-Left terrorist group Front Line. One of them was of working-class origin, the other came from a very rich family. Both of them were 29 years old, while their fellow-terrorists in Italy were aged 20-21.

In interviewing them the French journalist wished to find out how a person becomes a terrorist, what makes young people full of noble ideas enter upon this dark and hopeless path, what prompts them to join a group whose only law is the law of bloodletting.

Here is an extract from the interview.

Correspondent: You left Italy several months ago. How are you getting on now?

Marcello: We are striving to destroy the fiendish escalation of terrorism, to end this prolonged "night of long knives", where the cult of blood and revenge holds complete and undivided sway.

Correspondent: Meaning?

Marcello: The aim and strategy of the Red Brigades consist in striking at the very heart of government, at its mainsprings. This is precisely what the Moro case shows (!—*E.H.*).

Alessandro: Before the Moro case assault with intent to murder was practised far more rarely. After it murder became a habit with Front Line too.

Correspondent: And you were dissatisfied with these separate acts of violence? You wanted to set up a military-type organisation, Front Line... Why?

Alessandro: To speed the course of history, to switch to a higher speed.

Correspondent: You wanted to speed the course

of history, and one fine day you found yourself holding a gun...

Marcello: In 1977-78 several thousand big and small assassination bids were made... I think it safe to say there are some 10,000 (?—*E.H.*) terrorists in Italy...

Alessandro: ... There comes a time when the whole of society is directly or indirectly permeated with terrorism...

Correspondent: They say offshoots of terrorism have penetrated into the highest echelons of government...

Alessandro: Don't forget that a considerable portion of the ultra-Left elements in Italy come from the big bourgeoisie.

Marcello: Scions of the bourgeoisie who inevitably retain links with the milieu from which they come... Since there are 10,000 terrorists, there must be a large number of contacts and informers who help and harbour them. In every major Italian city there are thousands of people who are helping the armed groups in one way or another. And these are not only the dregs of society.

Correspondent: Who, for example?

Marcello: Businessmen, judges, newspaper executives, secretaries of institutions and courts, administrative officials.

Correspondent: All these people had grave doubts when the terrorists switched to systematic murder.

Marcello: (after asserting that Front Line thought murder should be an exceptional measure.—*E.H.*): For the Red Brigades death became a more routine affair after they adopted the tactics of destroying the state machine.

Correspondent: Do you like violence?

Alessandro: We have lived in the thick of it...

Correspondent: ...But shooting at people can hardly be regarded as a form of working-class struggle. Workers don't go around with pistols...

Marcello: Our whole history is founded on the fact that we base ourselves on a minority of workers.

Correspondent: What were your feelings when you heard of the murder of Aldo Moro?

Alessandro: A profound feeling of isolation (from the people.—*E.H.*). Dismay. We were stunned, paralysed. On that very day we realised the weakness of the Red Brigades. It showed the utter futility of terrorist violence.

Marcello: In a sense, underground work becomes a way of life which finds its justification in armed struggle. The idea of being able to do what one likes with the lives of others gives one an incredible sense of power. And one who feels better in the atmosphere of terrorism than anywhere else will not want to give up the life of a terrorist. Terrorists are heroes living in an idealised military sect, in an atmosphere of the cult of the élite. And gradually they become more and more ruthless... Underground activity makes it impossible to work creatively; it is incompatible with a regular life. And a person is compelled to compensate for his dissatisfaction by means of assault, robbery, "firing at legs". Such is the inevitable logic.

Correspondent: Were there people in the organisation who specialised in the most cruel acts, in murder?

Alessandro: At first no. Afterwards yes... A kind of caste emerged. In every town there were groups of "riflemen". At first their composition would vary, later it became permanent... The Red Brigades were formed from trade unionists, intellectuals or former Communists. Incidentally, at one time it was the duty of members of the Red Brigades to join the Communist Party...

Correspondent: We were speaking about arms. Can you tell us where you got the money to pay for them?

Alessandro: Through robbery.

Correspondent: Did your organisation commit many robberies?

Alessandro: Probably more robberies than political acts.

Correspondent: Did anybody get killed?

Marcello: Yes. It was when committing acts of robbery that many of our comrades died.

Correspondent: Reports on robberies and kidnappings carried out by the Red Brigades said a great deal about the terrorists' connections with the underworld. General Dalla Chiesa himself admitted it would have been much harder for him to crush your organisations if it had not been for their links with criminals.

Alessandro: We had links, but only with minor offenders, with petty thieves and smugglers. There was even one terrorist organisation, Armed Proletarian Nuclei, which arose among criminals in prison. But we had no ties with the Mafia.

Correspondent: The Red Brigades had none either?

Marcello: In jails there is a non-aggression pact

between the Red Brigades and the Mafia, hut nothing more than that.

Correspondent: The Red Brigades kidnapped people to get ransom money. Was it not bound to be associated with criminal circles?

Alessandro: Not with the "top crust" of the criminal world.

Correspondent: You spoke about smugglers... I think in Naples the Mafia keeps an eye on the smugglers and controls the petty criminals.

Marcello: That may be so... The Italian Communist Party does not wish to admit that terrorism in Italy is a social phenomenon, that it has political and social roots. The Italian Communist Party has always considered terrorism to be a crime and all terrorists criminals. And that's that.

Correspondent: It is probably very difficult to get out of this tangle...

Marcello: Despite arrests and betrayals, terrorism will not end in Italy. On the contrary, there is a danger it will become even more ruthless... People are becoming used to violence... We have reached the stage of physical, murderous violence, the cult of armed force.

Correspondent: But can you demand complete impunity?

Marcello: We just want the Italian government to recognise terrorism as a social phenomenon...

2.

What catches our attention on reading such confessions by Left extremists? Above all, the total

lack of any serious socialist thinking. It is utterly non-existent.

Instead of "striking at the very heart of government, at its mainsprings", we see their organisation becoming a caste of professional robbers and murderers, a closed circle of "perplexed" men. It is a caste whose leaders become increasingly despotic and ruthless, they work in complete isolation from the masses and are gripped by an "incredible sense of power" over their comrades.

Instead of actually participating in the revolutionary political movement the Left extremists indulge in vicious acts of violence, causing panic among the population. Their premise is: the bloodier the excesses, the nearer is socialism.

Instead of combating the pro-fascist forces, they in fact promote a strategy aiming at establishing a chain of military dictatorships in Western Europe with backing from overseas. Instead of "speeding the course of the revolution" they promote counter-revolution. It is no accident that quite a sizable portion of Left extremists come from the very rich.

They also have a blind hatred of the working-class movement and deeply despise the working class because it refuses to "speed history" by murder and plunder.

In *Horizont*, a journal published in the German Democratic Republic, Norbert Madloch writes:

"It is characteristic of the autonomists in France and Italy (members of Worker Autonomy, the ultra-Left group whose leading theorist is Prof. Antonio Negri of the University of Padua.—E.H.) that they preach an elitist attitude towards the

working class. For the most part they regard the working class in the capitalist countries as a passive mass completely integrated into the capitalist system—a mass from whom nothing can be expected and whom one can only pity.

"In one of their own pronouncements the Italian autonomists develop the following basic lines of policy as regards 'autonomy from hitherto existing organisations and forms of struggle of the working-class movement': first, to coercion by the state we shall retaliate with armed guerilla warfare; second, we regard trade unionists as advocates of a policy of reconciliation and as venal creatures; third, we believe the workers to be privileged for they have good wages and a good status. We have nothing in common with such people.

"Providing pseudo-theoretical backing for their anti-working-class policy, which is directed primarily against Communist parties, the autonomists declare it is not the monopolies and big capitalists but the working proletarians who are the principal enemies of social progress... To overthrow the capitalist system, the main struggle, they claim, must be directed against traditional working-class organisations and their policy of improving the workers' living standards. Labour and the possibility to work should be abolished. Proceeding from such an attitude towards the proletariat, they consider the leading revolutionary force of our time to be not the working class, but above all the lumpen-proletariat, and also scions of the bourgeoisie who shun work and live like parasites."¹

¹ *Horizont*, No. 28, 1980, p. 8.

Unlike the anarchists of the past, today's ultra-Leftists have not succeeded—and unlikely ever to succeed—in drawing up a single clear-cut platform. But their attitude towards the working-class movement is accurately described above. Madloch quotes R. Lenz, an ultra-Leftist, as saying: "By increasingly creating structural unemployment capitalism brings it about that not all young workers become bourgeois, while the potential of protesters grows..."¹ In other words, hopes are again being placed not on the working class, but on the lumpen-proletariat and the underworld.

It is not difficult to find the historical origin of this pernicious and crude "ideology".

We have already mentioned the role Nechaev assigned to lumpen-proletarians and vagabonds. A Bakunin-Nechaev leaflet, "Posing the Revolutionary Question", published in the late 1860s, said: "Brigandage is one of the most honourable forms of Russian national life. The brigand is the hero, defender, avenger of the people... Anyone who fails to understand brigands will understand nothing in the history of the Russian people. Proof of the vitality, passion and power of the people is found in brigandage alone... In Russia the brigand is the sole genuine revolutionary—one who does not indulge in any phrase-mongering or bookish rhetoric, a revolutionary who is irreconcilable, tireless and indomitable in action; he is a national and public revolutionary, not a political and class one... The brigands in the forests, towns and vil-

¹ *Studien von Zeitfragen-links*, Frankfurt (M), March, 1979, No. 1, p. 66.

lages scattered all over Russia, and the brigands imprisoned in the numerous jails of the Empire, constitute a single, indivisible, close-knit world... Whoever wants to conspire seriously in Russia must find his way into this world."¹

In a publication put out by the same group entitled *The Principles of the Revolution* this was emphasised: "While not recognising any activity, except the business of destruction, we agree that the forms in which this activity should manifest itself may vary—poison, the knife, the loop, etc." Other Nechaev documents spoke about the "unbridling of what are today called wicked but necessary passions", about the importance of "razing everything to the ground", and about the fact that many people "will have their tongues pulled out".² Nechaev's *Catechism of Revolution* preached the following:

"The revolutionary... knows only one science—the science of destruction... He is not a revolutionary if he is sorry for anything in this world. He must not stop short of destroying a person, any person belonging to this world. Everything and everybody should be equally hateful to him. It is all the worse for him if he has in this world family, friendly and amorous relations; he is not a revolutionary if his hand can be stopped." It was said in the same work: "In his heart of hearts, in deed and not in words only, the revolutionary has broken completely with the civil order and with

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 393 (in Russian).

² *Ibid.*

the whole of the educated world, with all the laws, decencies, conventions and morality of this world."¹

In what essential ways does this preaching of unbridled brigandage and violence differ from the platform of today's ultra-Leftists in Italy, West Germany and other countries? More than a century has passed since Bakunin and Nechaev made the pronouncements which Marx vehemently denounced. There have been radical changes in the world since then, but the views and summons of the ultra-Left terrorists remained unchanged. Their statements bear a striking resemblance. So do their attitudes—the lack of faith in the proletariat, the malicious hatred of Marxism, gross political adventurism doomed to failure and the shameless exploitation of immature young people.

No wonder Horst Binek, a young West German neo-anarchist close to the ultra-Leftists, writes in praise of the views of Bakunin and Nechaev: "The language of anarchy is to act, act arbitrarily, against all logic, to destroy syntax; to be an anarchist means to be against causality, to halt for a moment the fateful course of nature..."

Nechaevism has "developed" by absorbing the spirit of the lumpen-proletariat of the 20th century. Ultra-Left terrorist organisations like the Red Brigades and Front Line imitate "People's Reprisal", the group Nechaev founded in Moscow in 1869. Dostoyevsky's *The Devils* seems to have come to life again on Italian soil.

It is not only Nechaev's political theories that are being imitated, but also his system of organisation.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 416 (in Russian).

tion. The rules of Nechaev's organisation stipulated complete frankness on the part of "members towards the organiser", that is to say, of rank-and-file members towards leaders, and excluded "all questions from members to the organiser". Rank-and-file members only knew the particular tasks they were assigned. When Nechaev plotted the murder of the student Ivanov (Shatov in Dostoyevsky's novel) he motivated his action by a desire to "cement the organisation with blood", while he himself immediately fled the country. In the future "Communist" system described by Nechaev work is made compulsory on pain of death (something like this was practised by the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea), and all affairs are administered by a "Committee" known to nobody and accountable to nobody; the "Committee" also regulates all human relations in society by force. The Red Brigades of today have a similar structure.

In West Germany also Left extremism, which emerged there among desperate students isolated from the working-class movement, borders on crime. It was under the slogan of "Destroy everything that destroys you" that the terrorist organisation, the Red Army Faction (RAF), also known as the Baader-Meinhof Group, was founded in 1970. Pretending to act as a "revolutionary vanguard" and as "urban guerillas", the RAF began to murder prominent bourgeois figures, to rob banks, and steal arms and motor-cars. There were dozens of victims. Newspaper tycoon Axel C. Springer and Dr. Franz Josef Strauss, chairman of the Right-wing Christian Social Union, were threatened with kidnapping for a large ransom. The RAF negotiat-

ed and entered into an alliance with the underworld. These RAF actions prompted one of the Springer newspapers to warn the public against the appearance of a "terror Marxism".

The number of RAF members never exceeded 200—students from the families of intellectuals and lumpen-proletarians. Many of the members were under age. In the outcome RAF operations only led to a strengthening of the police forces, a widening of the scope of measures in "defence of the Constitution", and to the passing of emergency laws. Several years later a leading capitalist newspaper, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, noted that the RAF terrorists had actually promoted the consolidation of the society which they had been trying to smash.¹

In an open letter to the leader of the RAF group, Ulrike Meinhof, professor Renate Riemeck wrote that if RAF had not existed West German reactionary circles would have "invented one". The experiment of the West German ultra-Left terrorists was a complete fiasco.

Japanese "militants" of the International Carlos Organisation and of other groups of this kind engage in crime, including holding to ransom. The Autonomists are active in France. According to the French Ministry of Interior, there were 637 armed attacks in 1978 alone as compared to from 100 to 200 every year in the early 1970s. Terrorist cadres are everywhere recruited from declassified and semi-declassified elements, masking themselves under the banner of contemporary Nechaevism.

¹ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 3, 1974.

It is not surprising that basing themselves on such principles, everywhere the ultra-Left terrorists are bitter enemies of Communists. Not very long ago the Italian magazine *L'Europeo* got a photo copy of the secret "strategic plan" drawn up by the Red Brigades' headquarters. The main target in that document was in effect the Italian Communist Party. Published under the title of "The Red Brigades' Plan against the Italian Communist Party", it contained thinly veiled threats of physical violence against it.

The document said: "The Communist Party is not a central political apparatus of the ruling class, like the Christian Democrats, or a coercive military apparatus, like the police, but that does not remove the military as well as the political nature of the attack which must be assumed against it."¹ What does an attack "of a military nature" mean if not acts of sheer terrorism against Communists?

It is also noteworthy that the ultra-Leftists, at any rate in Italy, do not deny that their campaign of terror will sooner or later lead to the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. The Red Brigades' leaders callously admit that they believe this is exactly what will happen. But they argue that the sooner a fascist dictatorship comes, the nearer will a people's revolution be!

This is a fact—I am not joking. Perhaps that helps to understand why the ultra-Leftists and neo-fascist terrorists so often act in collusion.

The author of these lines was in Germany in

1933, when Hitler came to power. He remembers very well his Communist friends telling him at the time: Hitler will last for a year, no more; then the proletarian revolution will come and sweep him away. Hitler stayed for twelve years, annihilated countless Communists and unleashed the Second World War. Today capitalism is still dominant and neo-nazis are emerging in a considerable section of what was the Third Reich, West of the Elbe. The ultra-Leftists in our day have failed to learn any of the lessons of the recent past and without any hesitation do what benefits the fascists. This is seen in their own documents.

It is not only the fascists who stand to gain. There are good grounds for believing that links of some kind exist between the US Central Intelligence Agency and the Red Brigades. Several years ago *L'Europeo* asked former CIA Director William Colby how his Agency spent its money (tens of millions of dollars) in Italy. He replied that, wherever Communist organisations existed, the United States created and financed anti-Communist ones. Asked whether the CIA checked how such organisations used the sums allocated to them, Colby said they were granted complete liberty (apparently also the liberty to describe themselves as "Left". —E.H.).

When in March 1978 the Red Brigades kidnapped former Prime Minister Aldo Moro, who stood for including Communists in the government of Italy, the bourgeois magazine *La Discusione* stated: "It would not be too much to think that behind the initials 'RB' (Red Brigades.—E.H.) lies something more terrible, namely, the funds, efficiency and

¹ *Morning Star*, February 2, 1981, p. 4.

goals of the secret service of a foreign power."¹ The magazine did not venture to name the CIA specifically. But there is no doubt that the CIA has "contacts" with both terrorist "schools"—ultra-Right (that is to say, fascist) and ultra-Left.

From the outset the Communists stood firmly against making any concessions to or deals with the Red Brigades, and demanded that strict measures be taken against them. In his public statement in 1977 Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, exposed the agents provocateurs disguised as ultra-Leftists. In a letter to *L'Unità* he stated that those who commit acts of violence, use arms and systematically undertake actions against the working-class movement, against the Italian Communist Party and its leaders could only be called neo-fascists. Left extremist ventures in effect and objectively serve only the interests of Right-wing forces.

"The Right wing (in Italy.—E.H.) is conscious that the Red Brigades make the best anti-Communist propaganda since the Second World War,"² the British Communist *Morning Star* wrote in February 1981.

In January 1981 *Rinascita*, the theoretical journal of the Italian Communist Party, noted in a discussion on ultra-Left terrorism the "underestimation of its nature and scale" in bourgeois circles, who believed "this phenomenon can be quickly done away with by military force". The journal continued: "In speaking of terrorism we cannot help but

point to the depth and perhaps irreversibility of the crisis of the secret (ultra-Left—E.H.) organisations. It is quite obvious—and there has recently been ample proof of this—that the outcome of the armed clash between the terrorists and the state has been predetermined. It is not quite clear, though, how much democracy will remain after this clash and what it will look like." (The possibility of a military dictatorship being established is meant.)

The Italian Communist journal stressed the full "hopelessness of the policy of sheer terrorism pursued by the Red Brigades and their 'destruction campaigns' directed against several government institutions, certain categories of employees and persons of some professions regarded (by the Brigades.—E.H.) as the decisive link which must necessarily be destroyed in order to undermine bourgeois democracy." This, the journal continued, "is tantamount to the idea of turning the country into a fascist state, and the ways by which it is being implemented remind us of the actions of a gang of butchers."

At the same time—and, in our view, this is the most important observation made by the Italian Communists—"the country has been witnessing a reduction, in the factories and elsewhere, in the size of the 'ignorant masses' who used to take a rather neutral attitude towards acts of terrorism: with increasing determination the youth are refusing to see armed (terrorist.—E.H.) struggle as the correct and shortest path to achieving 'revolutionary' goals which, apart from everything else, seem to them to be ever more disputable and unattractive. Such a phenomenon as the 'repentant terrorist'

¹ *Espresso*, March 22, 1978.

² *Morning Star*, February 9, 1981.

can be explained only when taking due account of this complex situation."¹

In other words, the Red Brigades' influence on a section of the social strata which support it—evidently the youth and the intelligentsia, though not the lumpen-proletariat—seems to be diminishing. If this is so, it is the main thing in the longer term. The ultra-Leftists have been active for more than ten years in Italy. It is here that the centre of ultra-Left terrorism, its "ideological leadership", is found. The facts show that it has not brought and cannot bring the Italian working-class movement anything but great harm. How much more time has history granted the Red Brigades?

¹ *Rinascita*, No. 4, January 23, 1981, p. 6.

Ultra-Rightists Go on the Rampage

1.

Which terrorist organisations are more active in the capitalist world—the fascist or ultra-Left ones? In Italy the ultra-Leftists are more active today. According to official figures, towards the end of 1980 some 1,087 Left extremists had been arrested there and 170 were wanted by the authorities, whereas 267 fascist terrorists had been arrested and 68 were wanted.¹

It is difficult to say whether the ultra-Leftists will continue to outnumber the ultra-Rightists or fascists. In most other West European countries there are more ultra-Right terrorists. But now one thing is clear: terrorism is becoming the main trend of the entire policy of the neo-fascists. Why are their leaders now banking primarily on terrorism?

Discussions have been going on for a long time as to whether the new fascism will survive the last few decades of the 20th century. Will it mount a real offensive to revenge itself for 1945, or shall we be witnessing its long death agonies? Understandably, the answer to this question will to a very

¹ *Le Nouvel Observateur*, January 12-18, 1981, p. 31.

great extent determine the future of mankind, especially of Europeans.

This subject has been talked about all through the post-war period. Various opinions have been expressed. Many believed that as a result of the war fascism, though not killed outright, had been so badly crippled that on the international scene today it can toddle and bubble but not launch a major offensive.

It is true, for instance, that in the capitalist world of today no country except Italy has a mass fascist party; and the fascism that prevailed after the war in the Pyrenean peninsula, in Spain and Portugal, came to an ignoble end in the 1970s. It is also true that the petty bourgeoisie, which once flocked into fascist organisations, is today shifting if anything to the Left, to the advocates of peace, rather than to the Right, or is just apathetic. Finally, monopoly capital, which likewise seems to take note of the past, is today more inclined to support the "peaceful" major bourgeois parties than the fascist cutthroats.

All this is true. Yet today we are faced with the fact that fascism, after a rather long relapse, is beginning to come round and stand up. And there are grounds for believing that it is preparing to launch a fresh offensive against humanity, if not tomorrow then within the lifetime of the present generation. What is the fascists' real intention?

Today the main hotbeds of fascism are exactly where they were before the war—in capitalist Germany and Italy. This is no coincidence. The successors of Hitler and Mussolini consider themselves to be the lawful heirs of their cause.

The Italian Blackshirts of today remember what Mussolini said a few days before his arrest and execution in an interview to the newspaper *Il Popolo di Alessandria*: "Twenty years of fascism (in Italy.—E.H.) were too little... A man greater than I will one day bring the fascist ideal to victory. If the Allies (the anti-Hitler coalition of the war years.—E.H.) emerge victorious a third world war will be inevitable. And Italy will win the day if it finds the man who will play trumps."¹

Friedrich Nietzsche, the favourite philosopher of reactionaries in all countries, said: "The cemetery is an essential condition for resurrection." The adventurer, who headed the Italian Blackshirts in 1919, before his execution expressed the hope that in the process of decay of the capitalist system after the Second World War neo-fascist microbes would appear and poison people once again. Hitler expressed the same hope before his death. In this respect both proved correct. The old fascism has ceased to be, but a new fascism is rising.

It is difficult to estimate how many of Italy's 30,000 active terrorists are Left extremists and how many are fascists; neither carry identification cards. According to newspaper reports, more than twenty different Rightist gangs are operating in the country.

The biggest of them is believed to be the New Order, a branch of the international terrorist organisation of the same title founded years ago by former SS-men and French Black Hundreders (this organisation will be considered below). In 1974 this

¹ See *Die Gegenwart*, December 1, 1948, p. 20.

gang changed its title in Italy to the Black Order, apparently to indicate that its views come from the Blackshirts of the days of Mussolini.

The Black Order (BO) calls for an "open clash with revolutionaries". The leader of the gang, Pino Rauti, an MP and former employee of the conservative Rome newspaper *Il Tempo*, is notorious for having described democracy as an "infection of the spirit". The sensational bomb explosion that killed 85 people and wounded 200 at Bologna railway station on August 2, 1980, was the work of this gang. Rauti is still at large. Giorgio Almirante, head of the Italian Social Movement (ISM), a neo-fascist party, was brought to court in July 1981, and accused of giving financial assistance to the terrorists who killed three policemen in 1972. He had been left alone for ten years.

It is noteworthy that among the "theoreticians" of the Black Order and probably among those who engineered the Bologna explosion are several Italian academicians: Professor Aldo Semerari, who holds the chair of criminal anthropology at Rome University; Paolo Signorelli, a teacher of history and philosophy; and Claudio Mutti, a teacher of literature at Parma University.¹ Among the neo-fascists is Julius Evola, former "philosopher under Mussolini", author of the book *Rivolta contro il mondo moderno* ("Revolt Against the Modern World"), published before the war in Italy and Hitler Germany. So the neo-fascist murderers find accomplices in academic circles, too. This shows once again how rotten the

¹ *The Economist*, September 6, 1980, p. 41.

Right-wing Italian bourgeoisie and its "intellectuals" are.

The Black Order is only one of the neo-fascist terrorist gangs. Others in Italy include the National Vanguard, Europa Civiltà, the Mussolini Action Group, the Adolf Hitler Detachment and the Clandestine Anti-Communist Army. All their members are professional murderers. They wear no black shirts, rarely utter the word "fascism" and keep changing the masks of their organisations. But in recent years they have been engineering and committing outrages almost every day in one town or another.

Neo-fascist terrorist gangs plan the occupation of urban blocks, the seizure of key positions, systematic raids on the premises of democratic organisations, and violations of the law, which create the atmosphere of imminent civil war. Italian Senator Ugo Pecchioli said all such acts of violence aim to create a "chaotic situation". We shall see that this "strategy of tension" is systematically being pursued by neo-fascist terrorists in other countries too.

Here is an example of how the strategy is put into effect.

Not so long ago there was a hue and cry in Italy over the operations of a gang calling itself "Executioners of Italy". It also acted under the titles of "Prophets of Terror", "Black Hand", "Avenging Angels", and "National Committee for the Purification of Italy". All these names sound like the titles of cheap novels for youngsters. But, as was established by the police, such an organisation did in fact exist. It specialised in dispatching "death

sentences" to progressive figures. The text of one of these messages reads as follows:

"Italy has no need of you. Now that we know all you vile creatures, we shall persecute you—in deed and not in words. We are not just going to threaten you, but carry out a whole series of actions that will make you glance back in fear even when walking in the street. And don't think of reporting this to the authorities: nobody will save you. You have parents, wives, children, brides; if need be, we shall not hesitate to act against them too before we physically destroy you in person... We shall find you wherever it may be." A sentence from another letter: "Yes, we are the first who have begun to act in the open but surely we are not the last who intend to strangle you all."

These are not the compositions of a foolish youth, but warnings that the postal services are continually bringing to public figures in one of the most civilised countries of the capitalist world. At the Italian Ministry of Home Affairs journalists were shown a list of the names of 223 people whom the Executioners of Italy had sentenced to death. Among them were Communist Party leaders Luigi Longo, Enrico Berlinguer and Umberto Terracini, Socialist leaders Pietro Nenni, Francesco de Martino and R. Lombardi, progressive journalists, democratic judges, trade union activists, Left-wing mayors, and personalities in the world of the arts. According to the same source, the Executioners had passed altogether 1,000 death sentences.

Those sentenced to death were sent letter and parcel bombs, as well as envelopes containing cartridge-cases, knife blades and drawings of gallows

with men hanging. A letter sent to actors of the La Commune company said: "We will set fire to your homes and cars. We will force you to experience yourselves what you show in your foul plays." Well-known Milan actress Franca Rame was savagely beaten by the Executioners' toughs and thrown on the pavement, drowned in her own blood.

To intimidate those advocating peace and progress, to force them to renounce public life at all costs and to make life terrifying for their dear ones—that is the primary and immediate aim of today's SS-men, the pupils of those who distinguished themselves at Oswiecim. A Rome newspaper reported that the Executioners of Italy had "cast its web over the whole of the Apennines peninsula". The organisation admitted young people aged from 20 to 26 drawn from among hardened neo-fascists and organised them in cells of six men each. Each cell had two "specialists" in street provocations, two "hit men" (that is to say, murderers), and two "motorists", one of whom transmitted orders to the executors and watched the "hot spots", while the other headed the cell and maintained liaison with the district leadership.

This is not the tactics of ordinary street provocations that depend on chance circumstances; it is a well-elaborated system of mass terror that combines the experience of the old SS with the practice of American gangsters and the methods of the Mafia. Evidently the schools of Otto Skorzeny and Léon Degrelle, old hitlerites who fled from defeated Germany, have been working quite successfully in recent years. It has been established that camps were set up in mountain and desert areas of Italy where

military specialists, mostly paratroopers, trained young fascists to be terrorists. There were women among the trainees.

The Italian Social Movement, a legal neo-fascist party, denies having any connection with the Executioners of Italy and similar organisations. But the ISM leader himself, the new duce Giorgio Almirante, openly calls on his young supporters to form "detachments of braves", to act "in front of factory and school gates", not to fear a frontal "physical clash" with Communists and democrats.

Thirty-seven years after the overthrow of Mussolini the Italian Left-wing forces are threatened by a Bartholomew Night's massacre. And this is taking place not at a period of acute international crisis, but in peacetime.

2.

In West Germany preparations for a Bartholomew Night's massacre have been conducted so far on a much smaller scale and less conspicuously than in Italy. At first glance this may seem strange, because it used to be the other way round. In the 1930s and 1940s Mussolini's butchers never thought of rivalling the hitlerites. The SS-men were the most dreaded terrorists in world history. They murdered and crippled people not by the thousand, but by the million; they did this in most European countries and were preparing to annihilate whole nations. Today the Italian fascists try to surpass their German counterparts.

The main reason for this is that Italy today has a mass fascist party with several hundred thousand

members— a party that wins two million votes at the elections,¹ whereas there is nothing like this in West Germany. The National Democratic Party (NDP), a neo-nazi party that had 9,000 members in 1977, failed to win a single seat in the Bundestag in the elections although, like other parties, it was given a state subsidy running into millions.

The NDP is clearly still wary of conducting openly terrorist operations: the alignment of forces in a country which remembers the horrors of nazism is not in its favour. Fearing the people, most of the new hitlerites are for the time being only probing and "learning". But they are already preparing for such operations and are bidding their time. Further on we shall consider what exactly they are waiting for.

There is another obvious reason why the Right extremist terrorists in the Federal Republic of Germany "lag behind" their Italian colleagues. The Communist Party of Italy is the strongest Communist Party in the Western world: it has over 1,760,000 members. It is the country's second largest party and for years the mass of the working people have been demanding that it should participate in the government. This makes influential reactionary circles, including local NATO generals, particularly apprehensive, prompting them to pander to the fascist terrorists.

The situation in West Germany is different. Yet even there three or four fanatical neo-nazi groups

¹ A former Italian Cabinet Minister told *Espresso* in March 1978: "In the field of political and other crime Italy, unfortunately, today takes first place in the world, or at any rate in Europe."

already exist which are quite capable of forming the core of a large terrorist organisation when the opportunity arises. That is what they are preparing for in training their young members in terrorist tactics.

"Spontaneous" fascist excesses are becoming more and more frequent in Federal Germany. The authorities have noted that the number of fascist provocations doubled in 1977. It has been established that gangs of cutthroats are accumulating weapons, ammunition and explosives, raiding even army posts to get them. Cases of arson and the bombing of Communist Party premises are increasing in number. In April 1981 there was a series of bomb explosions in several West German cities.

Anti-semitism is being rekindled, although there are hardly more than 25,000 Jews left in West Germany. Cases of the desecration of Jewish cemeteries are being reported once again. Television masts are damaged when anti-fascist broadcasts are being transmitted. There were explosions during the showing of a film on Hitler's plan for the total extermination of Jews. "After the explosions," the Social-Democratic *Neue Ruhr-Zeitung* wrote, "nobody can present the old and new nazis as a curiosity or as a barely noticeable infection which is annoying but can be tolerated in a pluralistic society."

On September 26, 1980, in a part of Munich where festivals are usually held and where there is a synagogue nearby, a bomb exploded as thousands of people were moving towards that area, killing 13 and injuring 215 persons. A typical nazi act. It might seem that in this instance the neo-nazis were following the example of their Italian comrades. They are "learning" somehow. Nobody in Federal

Germany can say for sure what they will be doing tomorrow.

The bomb in Munich was thrown by a member of the so-called Military Sports Group (MSG), which operates in Bavaria and is headed by a Karl-Heinz Hoffmann. Who is he? First of all, he owns a pub in Nuremberg. He does his job in true hitlerite style. The group has, it appears, been operating without hindrance for eight years. Its führer is called "Steel-Helmet Hoffmann" and his supporters greet him with cries of "Hail Hoffmann!". He asks them: "Who are we?" They reply: "Grenadiers of Europe!", "What are we fighting for?", "For the victory of the movement!", "Who are your enemies?", "Bolshevism and capital!"

The Military Sports Group is a true school of terrorism. Its young members are drilled, trained to handle weapons and drive army vehicles and are taken to demonstrations. They have at their disposal jeeps, armoured cars, artillery, cross-country vehicles, inflatable boats, battle suits, hand grenades—everything needed to wage civil war.

Their helmets bear the insignia of the SS. At weekends they train in Bavarian forests. They are feared for the skirmishes and beatings-up, in which they are frequently involved. Their slogan is: "The time is ripe to end all this parliamentarism!" Their leaders say a cast-iron order must be introduced in the country. They beat up anti-fascists with knuckledusters, with weights attached to steel wires and with wooden clubs. Among their "actions" was an attempt to trigger an explosion in the Communist Party offices in Kiel. The group is financed by Gerhard Frey, rich publisher of the

Munich neo-nazi newspaper *Deutsche Nationalzeitung*.

Another centre of West German terrorists is in Hamburg, at the other end of the republic. It is called the Action Front of National Socialists (*Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten*), earlier disguised as the Hansa Union for the Conduct of Leisure (*Freizeitverein Hansa*). Members are dressed in black (the colour of the old SS uniform); they too possess arms and steel helmets and engage in bank robberies. Among their slogans and songs are "Oswiecim liberates", "The heads of the Jews provide good skin for lampshades" and "At Oswiecim delights do not cease, the furnaces there will soon be blazing again". Their führer, Michael Kühnen, is a former Bundeswehr serviceman (imprisoned in November 1979).

At its headquarters the Action Front has a "security service" which draws up lists of Communist leaders and democratically minded police officials and judges. Kühnen has said in a private conversation: "These lists will undoubtedly be useful to us in the future. We shall soon be able to form a large combat detachment. Just give us time."¹

A third organisation of this type is the Viking, which is in fact a revival of the Hitler Youth, the *Hitlerjugend*. Its members wear semi-military grey-green or brown uniforms resembling those the Hitlerjugend wore. They, too, undergo military training and take part in attacks on anti-fascists. The Viking specialises in inculcating ruthlessness

¹ J. Pomorin and R. Junge, *Die Neonazis*, Weltkreis-Verlag, Dortmund, 1978, p. 57.

in young people, even in children. Its mottos are: "Praise him who destroys!", "Let knives glitter!", "May blood flow in torrents!", "Death to Willy Brandt!"¹

The organ published by the neo-nazi youth union, *Adler-Jugend*, prints such lines as: "They make a hubbub in the parliaments of the world like geese in a cage before they are slaughtered."

The list of similar organisations in West Germany could be continued, but the picture is already clear. They are all new Gestapo units in embryo. It is true that fascism as an outlook has never been so weak as now among the people of West Germany. But it is precisely with the aim of disturbing the nation's peace of mind and preventing the normalisation of its international relations that attempts are being made to restore the SS and bring back to life the Himmlers and Kaltenbrunners.

One may say that all these gangs in Federal Germany are for the present *potential* terrorist groups. Their führers obviously believe the time will come when they will outstrip their Italian colleagues.

As for the old SS-men who escaped punishment and are now living the rest of their days, they made their contribution to the nazi revival even earlier.

In Federal Germany after the war they did not dare themselves to engage personally in their old profession, especially since most of them continued to receive government pensions. So what could they do? They had a choice: either to leave politics for good, to take up something like chicken-farming, and to acknowledge their bankruptcy (they would

¹ Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

rather hang themselves than do this), or to concentrate on what many of them were still capable of—on terrorism, but somewhere as far away as possible from West Germany.

It was at that time, soon after the war, that a group of their leaders (including some of non-German nationality recruited by Himmler) hit on a sensational idea—to export the SS. In other words, to take refuge in other countries and train neo-fascist terrorists all over Western Europe.

Back in 1953 at a secret congress in Lausanne they founded a large and very active international organisation called the New Order (NO). It was learned later that its members acknowledged Hitler and Mussolini as their founding fathers, professed extreme racism and called for the elimination of Communism. Combat groups of the New Order began to operate under the name of the Young European Legion. Successive congresses were convened in various West European cities. At a congress held in Paris the participants all joined in singing the Nazi anthem, the "Horst Wessel" song.

The press reported that the organisation was headed by a Swiss fascist named Gaston Amaudruz. But he was only a figurehead. The real founders and leaders were the surviving leading associates of Himmler and of Hitler's favourite, Otto Skorzeny.

There are indications that one of the secret leaders of the New Order, at any rate at first, was none other than Léon Degrelle, the notorious Belgian fascist butcher, commander of the *Wallonische Legion*, SS motorised brigade that operated on the Soviet-German front. The older generation will re-

member that Degrelle was one of those SS sadists who saw the supreme meaning of life in brutality. After the war he was sentenced to death in Belgium and escaped to Spain where, like his friend and confederate Otto Skorzeny, he founded a "Commercial House" under Franco's wing. He was already advanced in years, but still could not live without the smell of fresh blood.

Since then the old SS-men in the New Order and similar organisations have trained a mass of pupils who in no way differ from their teachers, except perhaps in their new fascist rhetoric. At one of the New Order's international gatherings the neo-Nazi party in West Germany was hailed as the hope of that country, it was called the "centre and bastion of the Aryan race". The putrid past refuses to die.

Branches of the New Order are still operating in various countries, including Belgium, Austria and Greece. In France the organisation was banned after outrages committed by its members; in Italy it took part in the barbaric act of terrorism in Bologna. One of its confederates was a criminal who was evading trial, another was Pino Rauti, M.P. After several setbacks the Italian branch of the New Order, as already stated, changed its name to the "Black Order".

Thus the SS-men of the Third Reich contributed to the spread of terrorism in modern Western Europe. In West Germany itself, where veteran Black-shirts number 300,000 to 400,000, they act warily, although some are known to be "passing their skills" to young people they are helping to train. Should the imperialist forces of the West ever venture to attack the forces of peace and progress, there is no doubt

these old men will offer their terrorising services in Federal Germany itself. Terrorism is in their blood.

During the period of the Weimar Republic, in conformity with the Treaty of Versailles Germany had only a small army—the 100,000-strong Reichswehr. But at the same time an illegal “Black Reichswehr” existed there, which was headed by clandestine general headquarters and on the basis of which Hitler later built his huge Wehrmacht. Something similar would appear to be happening today as regards neo-nazism in Federal Germany. Officially only small neo-nazi organisations exist. But there is every reason to believe that in the event of an acute political crisis the imperialists could bring to the surface a truly gigantic terrorist organisation of neo-nazis.

3.

Something is brewing on the other bank of the Rhine too. France was one of the nations that was crushed and tormented by the nazis during the war. Remembrance of this lives on in the minds of the French people. Yet fascist terrorists are secretly operating there too.

Twenty years ago the country was held at gunpoint by the OAS (Secret Army Organisation), a military-terrorist organisation founded by French generals who sought at all costs to retain France's colonial domination of Algeria. They were joined by Black Hundred thugs of all hues—Foreign Legion mercenaries, paratroopers who would do anything, army deserters and the keepers of pubs and brothels. Behind the OAS stood the local reactionary

bourgeoisie—industrialists, landowners and bankers who for about a hundred years had been squeezing all they could out of Algeria.

The OAS engineered bomb explosions, assassination bids, murders and mutinies. It called on French settlers in Algeria to stage a putsch. They came out into the streets, many of them armed. They shouted: “De Gaulle to the guillotine!”¹ But only half an hour later the bid failed.

In the days that followed big bombs exploded in the centre of the Algerian capital. Leaflets appeared on the walls of houses saying: “We have been compelled to go underground. . . We must create a hysteria of fear among all de Gaulle's men in Algeria. . . Wherever we can destroy them, we shall do so without pity.”

The plot did not last long. More than a thousand people were killed by OAS men. In France itself some thirty bids were made to assassinate de Gaulle. In 1962 the OAS disintegrated. But did this mean that fascist terrorism had come to an end? Not in the least.

The OAS cadres did not disappear from French towns or fall asleep. Soon afterwards a new terrorist gang emerged—a branch of the New Order, the international organisation set up by former SS-men. The remaining OAS activists joined the gang. Street provocations, raids, arson, anti-semitic propaganda—all began again. New Order members were armed with long iron shields, they wore steel helmets that came down to their eyebrows, and were trained in

¹ At the time General de Gaulle was negotiating with the national liberation movement.

the tactics of street fighting. Again the campaign of terror was being financed by somebody.

In France too attempts were made to draw young people into the campaign. In the Mediterranean city of Nice a slogan "Send Jews to the soap industry!" appeared on the walls of a local lycée. In a skirmish incited by the New Order in Paris not less than a hundred people were wounded. In June 1973 the government banned this organisation. But others sprang up.

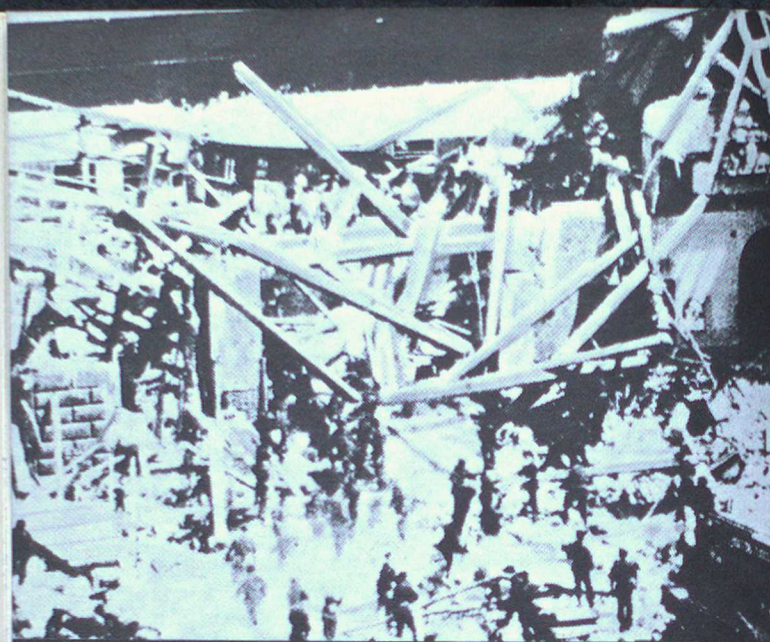
In September 1977 the premises of the Communist and Socialist parties in Paris, Chalon-sur-Saône and Nîmes were bombed. At the same time fire-branding leaflets began to be distributed in the capital and people who publicly condemned the neo-fascists received threatening letters. All this turned out to be the work of an organisation which had inherited the "ideas" of the OAS, namely, Peiper's Brigade, a secret group named after an SS colonel who was active in France during the war years.

There were other groups, including the Federation for European National Action (FANE). On October 3, 1980, a bomb burst in Rue Copernicus in Paris, killing four and wounding 15 persons. For three days at the beginning of that month acts of terrorism were committed in Marseilles, Nice and Montpellier too. *L'Humanité* printed a long list of explosions, cases of arson and damage to the premises of progressive organisations and the homes of Left-wing politicians—outrages that lasted for several months and went unpunished. The same thing all over again. But even this was only the tip of the iceberg.

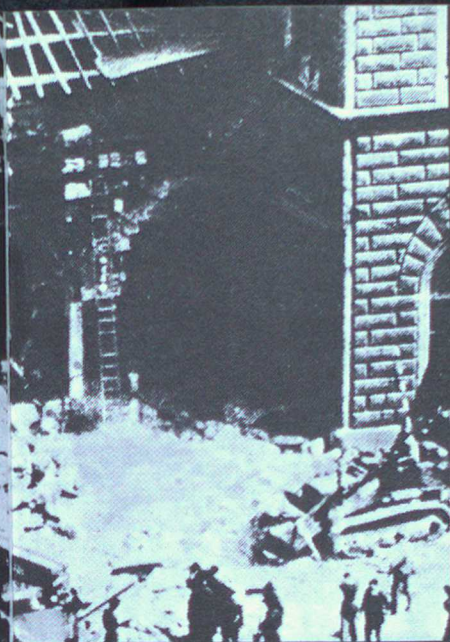
The successors to the OAS and the New Order



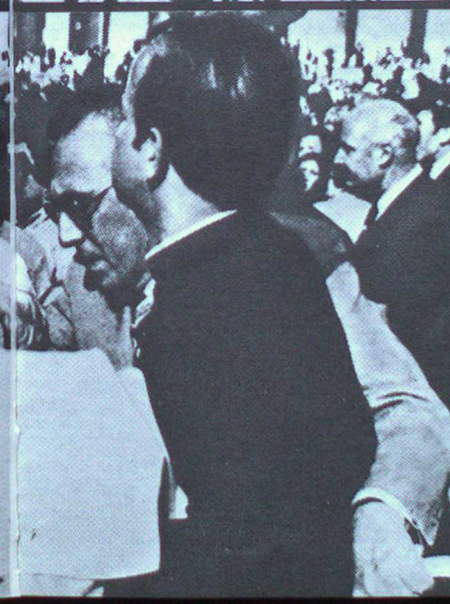
Photos of anti-fascists missing in Chile



Bologna station (Italy)
on August 2, 1980,
after the bomb outrage
committed by neo-
fascists



Below: Pope John
Paul II, wounded from
shots fired by a
Turkish fascist in
Rome, being carried
away

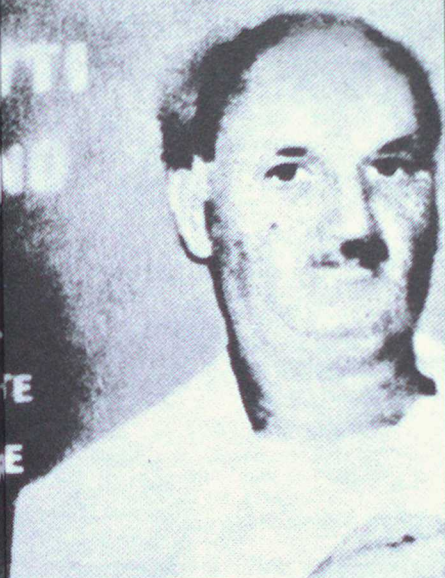


BRIGATE ROSS



LAVORARE TUTTI
LAVORARE MEGLIO

CONTRO LA RISTRUTTURAZIONE DEL
MERCATO DEL LAVORO SOSTENERE LE LOTTE
DEL PROLETARIATO MARGINATO E COSTRUIRE
ORGANISMI DI MASSA EVOLUZIONARI
CONTRO LA DEPORTAZIONE DEI PROLETARI,



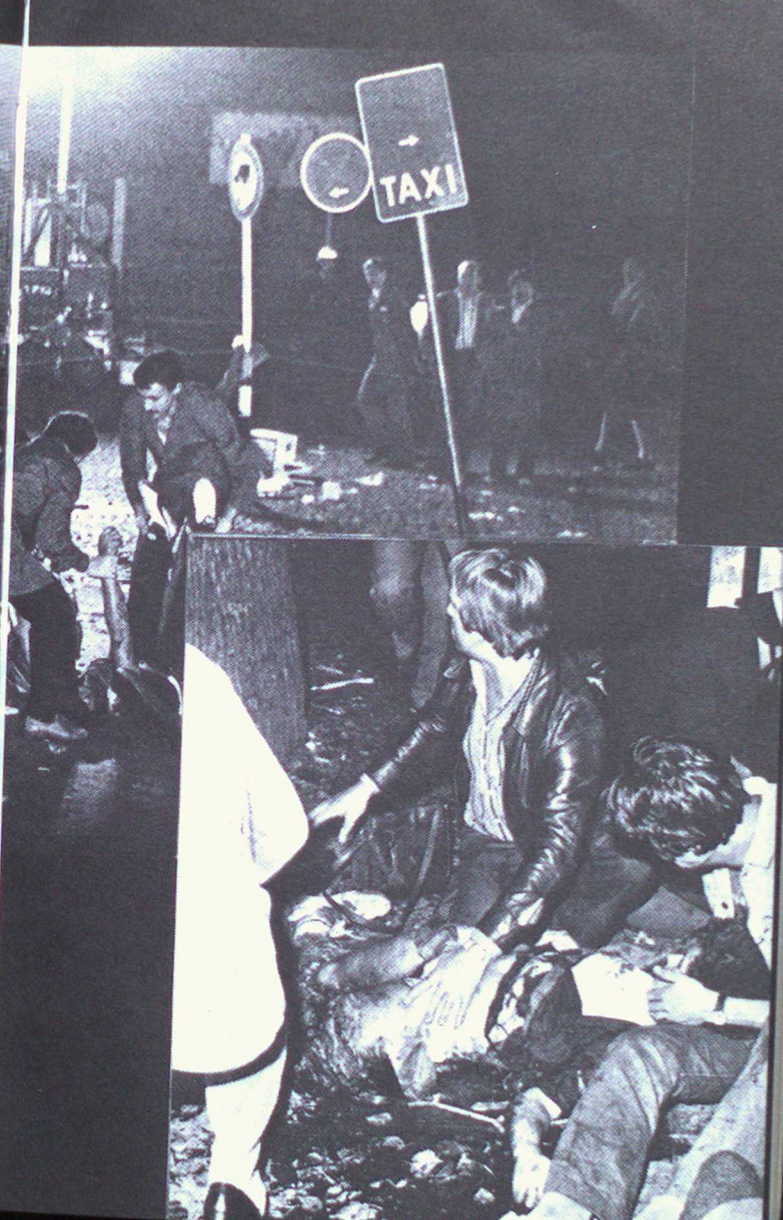
The Red Brigades in action: its members kidnapped former Prime Minister Aldo Moro and sent this photo of him to newspapers

Below: the corpse of the kidnapped man found by the police





The scene in Munich on September 26, 1980, following the explosion of a bomb planted by neo-fascists





Colonel Antonio Molina, armed ringleader of the Spanish putschists, during the seizure of the Parliament building in February 1981

Below: Ultra-Rightists are still on the rampage: the centre of Madrid after a grenade explosion in May 1981





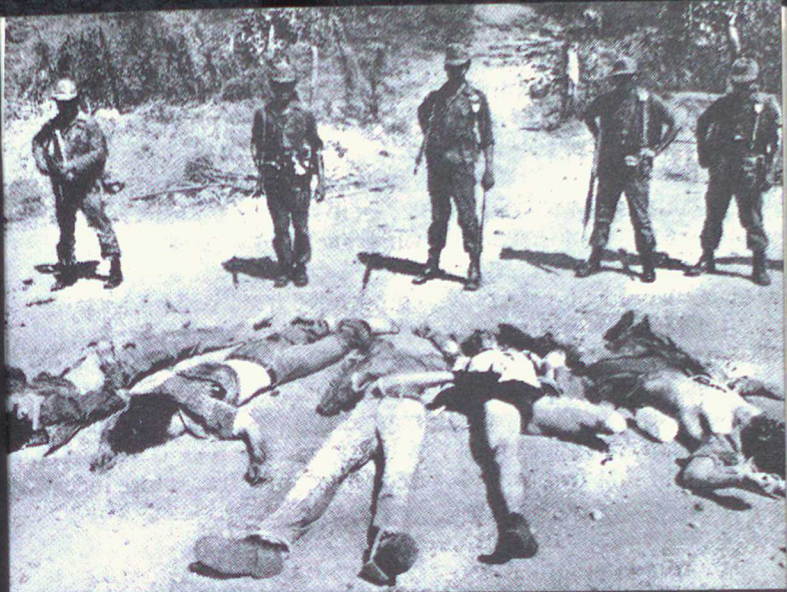
This is how a Palestinian demonstration is curbed in Israeli-occupied East Jerusalem

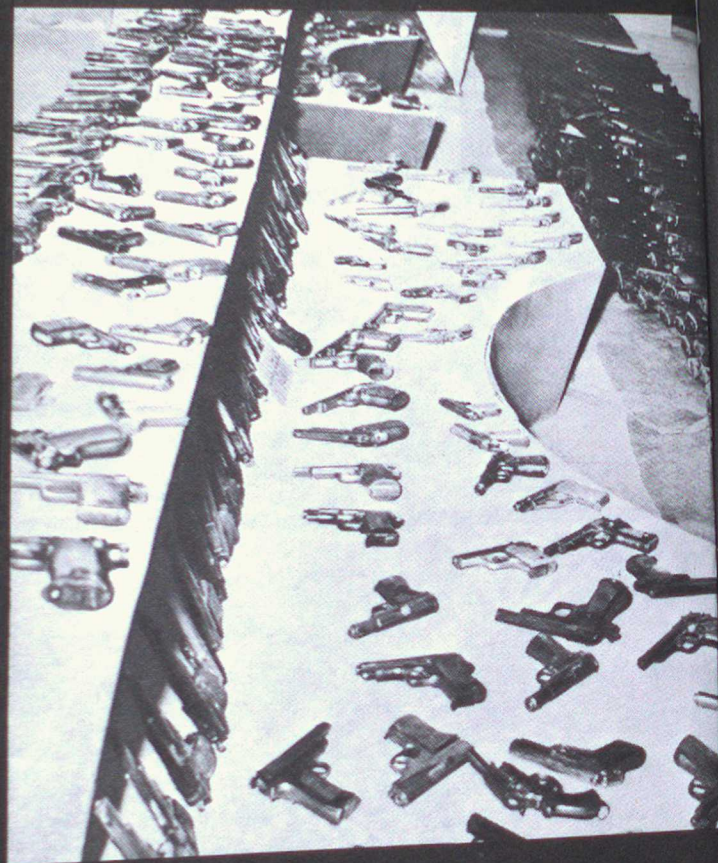


Terrorism in South Africa: Alsations and machine-guns are used against strikers



A shooting school in Arizona, US: for 350 dollars anybody can learn how to shoot within a week
 Right: Victims of acts of terrorism committed by the Salvadoran junta with the guidance of CIA agents





Weapons confiscated from Afghan terrorists: some are made in China



US police defending members of the Ku Klux Klan and beating up their opponents



O FLAGELO TERRORISTA

"The Scourge of Terrorism" -- by these words the Brazilian magazine *Veja* started special issue on the unprecedented wave of violence in the capitalist world

Ultra-Rightists Go on the Rampage

are preparing for action on a larger scale, bidding their time. For them it is no longer a question of preserving colonialism. Indo-China and North Africa are no longer French domains. But the ultra-Right militarists in France remain behind the scenes. They hate and fear the working class and the Left-wing intelligentsia. One fine day they may attempt a real coup d'état, for example, in either of these two circumstances: if the international situation is aggravated by the imperialists, or if major social and political reforms are carried through by the united Left-wing forces.

Today the terrorists in France do not emerge from their hide-outs as boldly as before, although their cells are scattered all over the country. Nor have "generals on white horses" disappeared in that wonderful and long-suffering country. On the other hand, the people of France have not forgotten their revolutionary past. The terrorists cannot avoid a settling of accounts with them.

Now let us look further to the West, across the Atlantic. The claims made by American leaders to the effect that no strong anti-Communist organisations exist in the United States are absolutely false. They do exist, and the main terrorist organisation, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), now has about 50,000 members — all armed.¹

A leader of the Klan organisation in Maryland said to a Soviet correspondent in September 1979 that there will be a racial war in which the Blacks should be eliminated for they won't wish to settle in Africa. Jews and Communists must also be done away with, in his opinion.

¹ *Horizont*, Berlin, No. 5, 1979, p. 25.

To the correspondent's question whether the newspapers were correct in stating that the Klan has its own groups of militants who are trained to shoot and use explosives he replied: Why should we train them? Policemen know how to shoot. Soldiers can handle explosives. And there are both among the Klansmen. There are sharpshooters too—veterans of the Vietnam war. Yes, we have shock groups. And I'll tell you this, he added, we are not sitting idle, we are accumulating arms. We are recruiting new members every day. Our membership is doubling every year. How many men do we have? I cannot tell you. It's a secret. People in all walks of life—from manual workers to political leaders. There are businessmen, students, lawyers and doctors.

What is this if not an arrogant truly terrorist organisation?

The Klan was founded in 1866, half a century before the emergence of Hitler's party in Germany, and so it has purely American roots. In those days it specialised in pogroms against Negroes. Because of the atrocious nature of its members' crimes—murdering Negroes or beating them to the point of death, the Klan was banned several times, but finally left alone. In one incident in the town of Vicksburg Klansmen slaughtered 200 Negroes. In December 1980 they held "exercises" in Chicago, perfecting their methods of attacking students; in Los Angeles they desecrated a Jewish cemetery and defiled more than 300 tombstones.

In recent years the Klan has added fanatical anti-Communism to its racism, and has been collaborating with the American Nazi Party. The

names of Klansmen are kept secret because they include many government officials, military men and prison warders. It became known recently that the Klan has penetrated the US Armed Forces. For instance, it has branches in the aircraft-carrier *Independence*, at the military base in Colorado and even at the famous West Point Military Academy which is supposed to turn out "exemplary" officers.

A broad campaign is also being conducted among young people. According to *Newsweek*, the Klan has established special camps where youngsters from 10 to 17 are taught the "ideas" of the Klan and trained in the use of arms. "Our arms are not meant for hunting hares but for eliminating people," Bill Wilkinson, supreme leader of the Klan, has publicly declared. He is at large to this day.

Jody L. Powell, when Press Secretary to President Carter, said that the Klan's revival in the south as well as in other parts of the country was perturbing the President and the US Administration. But has anything been done about it?

Pastor C. T. Vivan, a fellow campaigner of the late Martin Luther King, has stated that the Klan is alive and flourishing from Massachusetts to California, from one end of the United States to the other, and that this white fascist group is aware that it can commit crimes with impunity.

If this is not a typical fascist terrorist organisation operating in the very heart of the leading "democratic" country of the capitalist world, what is it?

There is another violently ultra-Right organisation in the United States—the John Birch So-

ciety, which is said to have a membership of 100,000. It enjoys a slightly "higher" status than the Ku Klux Klan and is influential in big business and military circles. The Society's aim is evidently to pave the way for the establishment of an arch-reactionary dictatorship in the US at the "crucial moment".

Fascism in the form of racism had real historical roots in the United States. In Britain, which is also an Anglo-Saxon country but has a different historical background, the situation is entirely different. Few people in Britain could believe that in their "peaceful" and stable country fair-sized fascist, not to mention terrorist, organisations would one day show their teeth. In its time the Oswald Mosley gang failed to strike deep roots in Britain. Today the situation is beginning to take quite a sharp turn.

Apart from the government's ruthless repressive measures in Northern Ireland, open terrorism is not yet rampant in Britain, but it could soon become so. There are ominous signs already. Two neo-fascist organisations with marked terrorist inclinations are operating side by side.

Springing from a small group called the "National-Socialist Movement", the racist and anti-Communist National Front Party is forcing its way onto the streets of British cities, although it has failed to work its way up to the House of Commons. The Front is conducting a furious campaign against the coloured population and organising raids and provocative marches all over the country. In March 1981 its members defiled Marx' monument in London twice within a week.

National Front bulletins publish lists of the names of those active in democratic movements, primarily Communists, with their addresses and telephone numbers. They also call on readers to send "information" about Communists or photos of them. In the same way the hitlerites listed their would-be victims long before they came to power.

The National Front leader, John Tyndall, makes no secret of the fact that he is a follower of Hitler. The London *Sunday Mirror* wrote that Britain is facing a growing threat from the new generation of nazis. The National Front is contemplating coming to power in the same way as Hitler did in Germany in the 1930s. The National Front is a form of British fascism today, has said Jack Jones, a prominent member of the Labour Party.

There is another equally aggressive group calling itself the "British Movement". In February 1981 a report on the Movement written with the aid of senior police officers was published in the official *Police Review*. The authors of the report concluded that the typical reaction at the police stations regarding members of the Movement as "bloody kids playing at nazis" was incorrect and should be amended.¹

The Movement wants its members to arm secretly, wear uniform and join the British Territorial Army. According to police data, the Movement has from 2,500 to 4,000 members, while its magazine, *Phoenix*, claims to have 50,000 readers. Following the example of the Ku Klux Klan, the Movement's toughs attack coloured people. The present head

¹ See *Morning Star*, February 6, 1981, p. 1.

of the British Movement, Dermot Michael McLaughlin, has a jail record for inciting racial hatred.

Finally, there is a group in Britain calling itself "SS Wotan 18", which also makes bomb attacks. British SS-men! Oswald Mosley could not even dream of such a thing.

Many times in the past, and quite recently too, nearly all British Labour and Conservative politicians were complacently claiming that good old England would never witness such a scandalous phenomenon as fascism. These gentlemen are now seriously worried. History teaches us a great deal, though not everyone learns its lessons, nor do they learn them straight away. But at times history is a ruthless teacher.

Spanish, Portuguese and Greek fascists, who had been thought incapable of regathering strength, have begun to stir of late. The tactics of neo-fascist organisations in Spain, Portugal and Greece, as elsewhere, is determined above all by local circumstances, but they resort to terror almost everywhere.

In February 1981 the neo-fascists in Spain suffered a complete fiasco: the plot by militarists close to their organisation, the New Force, was uncovered so quickly that, although the Parliament building was seized, the terrorists did not manage to commit any massacres. It was later revealed that the plot was preceded by a meeting of ultra-Rightists headed by New Force leader Blas Piñar, at which a detailed plan of action was drawn up. At the same time the armed forces had set up a secret Military Patriotic Alliance. The conspirators were to resort to arms if the King should refuse

to dissolve Parliament and to form a "generals' government". In 1978 the leader of the putsch, Colonel Tejero Molina, had participated in the plot by Franco supporters to kidnap the head of government. He was not convicted. It has been established that another leading participant in the February 1981 putsch, Lieutenant-General Jaime Milans del Bosch, had volunteered for Franco's Blue Division, which fought on the Soviet-German front during the Second World War, and had been awarded the nazi Iron Cross.

The Madrid putsch was crushed. But three months later the neo-fascists made another sortie. A gang of them seized the premises of the Central Bank of Spain in Barcelona and held more than 200 hostages for 36 hours; they demanded the release of the Madrid conspirators. This attempt, too, failed. But who knows what they will try to do tomorrow?

Later it became known that Portuguese neo-fascists belonging to the terrorist organisations the Liberation Army of Portugal (LAP) and the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (DMLP), consisting mostly of soldiers and officers of the Portuguese colonial army, were to have acted in concert with the Spanish conspirators. An uprising had been planned in Portugal in the event of the Madrid putsch being successful. This attempt too had to be postponed.

An Organisation of National Revival had appeared in Greece. It set off 70 bomb explosions in Athens within two years and tried to restore the regime of the "black colonels".

Even in such a small and seemingly peaceful country as Austria the local neo-nazis, according to a report in the Socialist periodical *Zukunft*, have threatened to kill the Austrian President and head of state because they opposed the cold war and spoke up for European security. That was sufficient grounds for the neo-nazis to condemn them. The neo-nazi gang in Austria, acting under the innocent title of the Federal Gymnastic Alliance (*Österreichischer Turnerbund*), has recently been preparing something.

In Norway, where Quisling once created an uproar, a secret terrorist organisation was exposed in the spring of 1981; it drew up lists of democrats to be killed and shot down two of its own members suspected of apostasy. Belgium's neo-nazi organisation is called the Flemish Militant Order, headed by "führer" B. Erikson; its members wear a black uniform, resort to acts of violence and maintain close ties with neo-fascist organisations in other countries. In May 1981 members of the Order were brought to court but not convicted.

Until recently the situation was far more serious in Turkey, where the unemployed numbered five million in the early 1980s. The services of the Asian lumpen-proletarians were used by the neo-fascist and Pan-Turkish Nationalist Action Party (NAP), which within a few years committed some 700 political murders, including the assassination of prominent trade unionist Kemal Tuerkler. The aim of the organisation was to stage a coup d'état and make its führer, Colonel Turkes, dictator; he had been associated with the hitlerites in the past. If the attempt had succeeded there

would have been a fascist bastion on the shores of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The utmost importance was attached to this venture in the circles of the Black International. As we have seen, the intention was to create similar bastions in other parts of the Mediterranean area too.

The Nationalist Action Party had its men in different ministries, in the police, in the army and the courts. It maintained contacts with the business world, with neo-fascist organisations in other countries, and with the CIA. It incited Turkish youth to stage armed provocations and it drew up lists of persons to be murdered. It was the intervention of the Turkish military, which came to power and banned both Right and Left extremist organisations, that prevented the international fascist headquarters from realising its Black Sea plans.

On May 13, 1981, NAP member Mehmet Ali Agca made an attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul II. Back in February 1971 Agca had killed Abdi Ipekci, editor of the liberal newspaper *Milliyet*, and was sentenced to death; but several days before the sentence was due to be carried out he escaped from the Istanbul prison in "mysterious circumstances". Traces of him were found in Spain, Federal Germany, France, Britain, Denmark, Belgium and Greece. In Italy he met some members of neo-fascist terrorist organisations. He spent large sums of money wherever he went.

In Arab countries progressives continue to be terrorised by the Moslem Brothers organisation. There are reasons to believe that the outburst of terrorism in the Middle East is no coincidence, that it is being encouraged from overseas, and that its ten-

tacles have reached even India. Bal Thakare, head of the pro-fascist Shiv Sena gang in India, said not so long ago: "India today needs a Hitler." So there is fear there too of the strengthening forces of peace and democracy.

At the other end of Asia, in Japan, neo-fascists drive through the streets of the capital in "battle" vehicles and demand the immediate armament of the country against the USSR. For this task Japan's would-be SS-men are paid by the hour. Their organisations have 30,000 members, many of them lumpen-proletarians. The role of the Asian lumpen-proletariat in developments in that part of the world deserves further study.

Nor has Africa escaped neo-fascist terrorism. Everybody knows that the centre of the neo-fascists in Africa lies in the Republic of South Africa. All their actions are controlled by the Broederbond, which is close to the government and was closely associated with the hitlerites; its present slogan is "Save South Africa from liberalism and Communism". The Broederbond is connected with Wit Kommando, the clandestine terrorist group which set off a time bomb at the University of Pretoria in September 1980 with the aim of killing Y. Lombardi, a liberal teacher who spoke out against racism.

The letter which gang leaders sent out to newspaper offices after the assassination bid plainly voiced their intention of curbing the activity of "persons and organisations wishing to promote racial integration" and of "eliminating them if necessary". This is the same language used by Black International terrorists in Western Europe, with

whom the Broederbond has long had direct contacts.

By 1980 more than 1,600 cases of killing anti-racists and setting fire to their homes had been registered in South Africa. A member of the international commission of the National Lawyers Guild of the United States, George Schwer, recently announced that US policy in Africa was aimed at the "kindling of terrorism". The murderers hired in the US and Western Europe, he added, were contravening the principal human right—the right to life.

We have spoken of bloodshed in Western Europe, North America, Asia and Africa. But perhaps nowhere in the world in recent years have neo-fascist terrorists shed so much blood as in Latin America. The reports coming from there are stunning. Continuous blows are being struck all over that subcontinent. With the exception of Cuba, which is defending its socialist system, all the countries of Latin America are witnessing conspiracies, assassinations and provocations. This has been going on for many years.

In Chile the terrorist organisation *Patria y Libertad* paved the way for Pinochet. Quite recently Pinochet said: "We are ready to resort to any measures to end subversive activities." For "subversive activities" read "anti-fascist activities". Every Chilean knows what Pinochet meant by "any measures".

Something similar is taking place in Salvador—a small country with a population of hardly more than four million, 99 per cent of whom are metis and Indian, with whites constituting only

one per cent. Here too there are active terrorist organisations, such as Death Squads, the Nationalist Democratic Organisation (ORDEN), the White Hand and Avenging Angels. In 1980 White Hand leader Roberto D'Aubuisson killed Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero for seeking to uphold human rights. One "Avenging Angel" told a *Newsweek* correspondent in December 1980: "We know from history that the only way to control the Left is to destroy them."¹ The correspondent wrote that in 1980 alone "savage and unbridled terrorism" took the lives of 10,000 Salvadorans. *The Washington Post* confirmed that political murders in Salvador are continuing at the "usual level", that is to say, 10,000 per year, and that an average of 10 to 15 people are killed every day by soldiers of the pro-American junta and by policemen. One of the ringleaders of D'Aubuisson's terrorist bands declared: "If in 1932 we managed to suppress an uprising by eliminating 32,000 peasants, we can do it today too, even if we have to exterminate 100,000."

Atrocities are also being committed in neighbouring Guatemala. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, in 1980 the gangs of pro-US dictator General Lucas García killed 311 peasant leaders, 100 trade union activists, 229 school teachers, 89 teachers at higher educational establishments, 389 students, 18 journalists and four priests. No one who was arrested ever returned. Dozens of patriots continued to perish in 1981. The killers are fascists of the White Hand organisation. They torture those

¹ *Newsweek*, January 5, 1981, p. 40.

whom they seize and throw their bodies into the gutter or into the craters of extinct volcanoes. In Uruguay killings are done by cutthroats from the National Restoration Movement. In Argentina thousands of people have been murdered or have "disappeared". In Brazil ultra-Right terrorist bands detonate bombs in the offices of progressive newspapers and in public places.

The neo-fascist terrorists in Western Europe probably envy their Latin American comrades. They do not venture to call themselves "Avenging Angels", "Death Squads" and "White Hand", though such names are attractive to demoralised youths. They have no extinct volcanoes in which to throw the bodies of their victims. It is worth asking why is fascist terrorism so rampant in Latin America?

Evidently the main reason is that such terrorism has the direct backing of agents of US imperialism, which is scared at the prospects of the neighbouring subcontinent shifting to the Left. In recent years the whole of Latin America has witnessed the stepping up of popular movements against military dictators who have seized or are preparing to seize power, and the CIA has to reckon with this. That is why the plan which is being carried out is this: with the aid of dictators and terrorists to establish black reaction over the whole of South America and, if necessary, to set it alongside the United States in opposition to other continents.

Yet the main field of action of neo-fascist terrorists remains Europe, the continent where the major states of the socialist community, headed by

the USSR, are situated, the continent which today holds the key to world history.

We could add to our list several other terrorist organisations. In Australia, for instance, assassination plans continue to be prepared by Croatian Ustachi (bandits), whose former führer, Ante Pavelić, used to boast of his unique "treasure"—a ball made of the eyes of concentration camp inmates.

We should mention another point. The terrorist fascist gangs operating in different countries undoubtedly have links with each other. In late 1969 a deal was struck by two of the leading neo-fascist organisations in Europe — the Italian Social Movement (ISM) and the neo-nazi New Order. This association was joined by fascist organisations in Greece (another major link in the chain) and certain other countries. The successors of Hitler and Mussolini, who for a long time disagreed as to who should head international neo-fascism, have shaken hands. Thus the foundation was laid for the aggressive Black International.

The French organ of the New Order, *Elite européenne*, wrote on this score: "The motherland of tomorrow is Western Europe from the Atlantic to the threshold of the East. The Italian Social Movement members, the Spanish Falangists, the Greek colonels and German students who are NDP members take the same stand as we do." Since then several international fascist conferences have been convened to work out a coordinated programme of terrorist action. Today the bloody Black International is definitely a reality and not something imagined by sensation-seeking journalists.

Perhaps some will find these accounts of the horrors and designs of present-day fascism hard to read. But this is a truth which everybody should know about. People should be aware of what is threatening them. We must not let the tragedies of the 1930s and 1940s be repeated in our day.

The ultra-Rightists are raging. We see that neo-fascist terrorism is spreading all over the capitalist world much more quickly than ultra-Left terrorism. But at the present time there is no denying that both are growing, having social bases that are similar in many ways.

Generals on White Horses

1.

In Chapter Five we posed the question of why the fascists of today have been increasingly engaging in terrorist operations. We pointed out that their pogrom groups are active or are being formed nearly everywhere in the capitalist world. Why do they pin their hopes specifically on terrorism?

We came close to answering this question. The chief thing is that in our time fascism is passing through a phase of changing from the form in which it existed under Hitler and Mussolini and becoming *military fascism*. This is the only road it can take in order to survive.

The goal of the new fascists is the same as that of the old ones: to seize power wherever possible. But today there are no mass fascist parties such as existed before the war and during the war years. And even in Italy, where there is a large fascist party which is influential, particularly in the backward south of the country, still the Communist Party is six times bigger in numerical strength and the fascists are aware that if they try to act alone, without outside help, things could turn out badly for them.

In other countries the neo-fascists are incomparably weaker. In the last parliamentary elections in West Germany the neo-nazi NDP won a mere 0.6 per cent of the votes. The ultra-Right National Front in France collected less than one per cent of the votes in the 1978 elections; Britain's racist party of the same name has 40,000 to 50,000 members; the Ku Klux Klan in the United States has approximately as many members, while the American National Socialist White People's Party has only a few hundred.

These parties cannot win power by themselves. They can come to power only through the agency of other forces occupying more powerful positions in the capitalist world and close to them in spirit and ambitions.

These forces are the so-called "generals on white horses"—the highly placed military awaiting an opportunity to establish their own dictatorship with the help of the armed forces; they are out to "bring order" to the crisis-torn bourgeois countries and to seize all key positions in the state apparatus, and thus they become the exponents of military fascism.

We must take a good look at these military groupings, whose weight has grown considerably after the Second World War and will probably continue to grow.

Such groupings exist in all capitalist countries where the class struggle has reached a high degree of intensity. They consist of senior officers with extreme Right-wing views. They appear under different banners, depending on local conditions. Sometimes this section of the military openly breaks with the deep-rooted bourgeois regime and

takes the path of revolt, as the OAS did in France, the "black colonels" in Greece, the Pinochet junta in Chile, General Zia ul-Haq's group in Pakistan, and the junta of Generals del Bosch and Armada in Spain. More often, however, such military cliques hide somewhere near general headquarters in the country concerned and act cautiously until the moment they break completely with the bourgeois-democratic regime.

In both cases the leading men are generals and colonels who are rabid anti-Communists, retired secret agents, senior aviation officers, former commanders of colonial troops (Raoul Salan, Spinola), and generals connected with the war industry monopolies.

A special role is often played by paratroop officers. In Italy, for instance, it was established back in 1972 that 90 per cent of the men serving in parachute units voted for the neo-fascists in the elections. These units—not only in Italy—undergo particularly thorough anti-Communist brainwashing. The same is true of "commando" detachments.

We know the role assigned to paratroopers in military coups because of their capacity to launch surprise attacks. It is they and the fascists who are ordered to strike the first blow at the Left-wing forces. They are followed by tanks acting as cavalry did in the past. This is an essential feature of the tactics of present-day counter-revolution. And therefore some neo-fascist organisations in various countries are headed by former paratroopers.

Very often the leaders of such military cliques

are generals who seemingly continue to be loyal to the legitimate government but are secretly in contact with extreme Right-wing organisations. Today they "stand on guard" over the republic, they are "above political parties"; tomorrow they will be hand in hand with the conspirators. Not infrequently their boss is a general long designated by reactionary circles as the future dictator.

The platform of the military cliques is essentially the same everywhere. It is based on the idea of a military leader with an "iron hand" who is "saving the country from Communism" by suppressing "disturbances". Such personages and their entourage often form the nucleus of reactionary forces demanding the establishment of an "authoritarian" state, ruthless reprisals against Left-wingers and feverish preparations for waging war—in alliance with the United States and NATO—against the USSR. Among their adherents and secret accomplices are persons holding important posts in the armed forces command. This is one of the main reasons why they are able to act with "lightning speed" when the time comes.

In other words, such cliques of generals virtually constitute a potential headquarters for masterminding coups d'état, and they are therefore allotted a special role in the designs of the arch-reactionaries. In the second half of our century this is the most convenient political and operational instrument that has been devised for executing reactionary takeovers.

Today there are dozens of such would-be military dictators in the world. Some of them have even evolved complete theories of their own.

In his day the chief of Argentina's higher military academy, General Manuel Alvarado, for example, put forward the doctrine of a "permanent home front", refuting the "rather widespread tendency to reduce the task of defence to the protection of the frontiers alone". Alvarado pointed out: "The existence of democratic institutions is in itself inadequate for the defence of the home front." What he meant was that the army should be invested with the right to operate on the "home front" through the government whenever it deems this to be necessary.

In his booklet *The Algerian Problem: The French Solution* Colonel Argoud, one of the leaders of the OAS conspiratorial clique of the 1960s, proclaimed: "The army should put our own house in order." The views of Alvarado and Argoud are identical with those of another Argentinian general by the name of Landa, who said: "For the armed forces the struggle against Communism, with or without government support, is a life-and-death struggle." Here too the implication is that the government should have no say in such matters.

After his visit to Chile in November 1977 Franz Josef Strauss, a West German revanchist close to the Bundeswehr Command, declared that the example of the Pinochet generals should be followed—the coup they had accomplished should be regarded as a model of how to "curb Communist conquests", he said.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that although Strauss is too cautious openly to belong to any of the small neo-nazi organisations

in West Germany, this ex-officer of Hitler's army would clearly have no objection to becoming Federal Chancellor in the event of a Pinochet-style coup on the Rhine. He is a member of a secret military clique.

Theories about the "right" of the arch-reactionary military to dictate to the government are today widespread at the defence headquarters of nearly all the capitalist states. This is by no means a coincidence, because all these theories come from one and the same source—from the "hawks" in the United States who are daily drawing up plans for a global war "against Communism" and contemplating the formation of regiments to conduct punitive and subversive operations in various parts of the world.

As early as in the 1950s and then in the 1960s NATO headquarters is known to have drafted several contingency plans code-named OPLAN No. 100-1, Prometheus Plan, Document 70/5, and so on. Each of these "plans" postulated in each West European country a sudden and swift military takeover backed by the police, ultra-Right gangs and, if the need arose, specially dispatched NATO units. Everything was worked out to the minutest detail—when, how, with whom and where. Certain points were obviously borrowed from the practice of the nazis. The OPLAN No. 100-1 provided for US intervention in the event of a "crisis situation" emerging in a West European country.

The Prometheus Plan contained detailed instructions as to how the local military should act in order to snatch the initiative from the Left-wing forces in good time. Such plans have no

doubt been enlarged and "perfected" following the downfall of the Shah's generals in Iran and of General Spínola's clique in Portugal, and after the failure of the military fascist putsch in Spain. NATO headquarters must have a special "political" department which deals with such matters and coordinates the activities of the various military cliques.

"The military to take power!" is what the Pentagon secretly urges. "The army to take power!", "There must be a dictatorship!", the Falangists echoed in the streets of Madrid. The coming to power of the military, the well-informed *New York Times* wrote back in November 1958, when the cold war was at its height, promoted the stability which the US government was interested in.

Far from changing these ambitions of Washington, the twenty-odd years that have passed since then have increased them. In Washington parlance, "stability" means "dictatorship". This is confirmed by the experience of many Latin American countries which have had dozens of dictators. Also symptomatic is the fact that the US State Secretary General Alexander Haig was formerly NATO Supreme Commander in Europe.

There are historical precedents for this. Hitler received power from the hands of Field Marshal Paul Hindenburg. It was the "caudillo", General Franco, who brought the fascist Falange to power in Spain. General Mannerheim patronized the Finnish Lapuan joki fascists. In Portugal power was seized in 1926 by a military triumvirate headed by General Carmona, who immediately suspended the Constitution and set about reshaping the country

along fascist lines. Mussolini would have been unable to overcome the resistance of the Italian working class in the 1920s if he had not had the support of the army clique surrounding the king; the military enabled him to come to power and stay there.

Today the Right-wing military are much more inclined to take this path. To their panic fear of socialism there has been added another "dread" prospect—that of arms limitation and the beginning of disarmament.

Neo-fascists everywhere are aware of this and are reacting accordingly.

2.

The names of the generals already in power are known to the public. One need only recall the names of the rulers in several Latin American countries, or in South Korea, Pakistan, Indonesia and certain other states. Bourgeois newspapers are always writing about dictators or would-be-dictators, often surrounding such men with an aura of mystery. But these papers usually keep silent about the fact that militarist cliques of the same kind have already been formed and are standing in readiness in Western Europe.

Pinochet has given a practical lesson to his colleagues all over the world and is given credit for this in the West. Though it lacked the backing of a mass fascist party, the military clique in Chile carried out a lightning coup d'état in line with the "theories" of the militarists. Today we know

that the "Pinochet experience" is being assiduously studied by Right-wing generals and senior officers in the West with a view to implementing it in the future. Here again are some facts.

In Italy fascist terrorism is particularly widespread. For many years that country has had an active and influential military clique which includes generals and admirals of the southern headquarters of NATO. One of the first leaders of the neo-fascist ISM (Italian Social Movement) was Marshal Graziani, Mussolini's last War Minister. Graziani was succeeded as head of the ISM by Prince Junio Valerio Borghese, a fleet officer and head of a reactionary association of former servicemen.

In the 1970s the ISM Vice-Chairman was Admiral Gino Birindelli, who before his retirement had been Commander-in-Chief of NATO's Southern Europe Naval Command. General Lorenzo, former Chief of Staff of the Carabinieri (military police), once supervised a fascist conspiracy known as the "SIFAR plot". General Miceli, former chief of the Italian military intelligence, and General Ricci, commander of armoured troops, were also involved in such plots.

Attempts at a coup d'état in Italy with the aim of "putting things in order" have more than once been made by these military circles in collusion with neo-fascists—five times, for instance, in the first half of the 1970s alone.¹ But vigilant democratic forces foiled all these attempts. Not so long ago a plan for a military coup code-named "An-

¹ See *Espresso*, March 15, 1981.

tartic" was exposed. According to the plan, the whole operation of seizing power and crushing the country's "Red belts" was to be completed within 36 hours. There is no doubt that Italy's Right-wing generals are still waiting for the opportunity to take Rome by storm with NATO's help, to recruit fascists as their policemen and drown the working-class movement in blood.

Such forces are active in Spain, too, as the events of February 1981 have proved. The generals who served under Franco still have their sights set on the new monarchy, although in the February days they utterly disgraced themselves. There is no big fascist party in Spain; the shrivelled Falange of the Franco regime and the New Force terrorist band are powerless against people who have become aware of their strength, but the military clique, it transpires, have no respect even for the king himself.

The February 1981 events in Spain threw some light on how the would-be military dictators intended to "put things in order" after staging a coup d'état. After seizing the parliament building and firing their revolvers and machine-guns, the conspirators ordered the assembled MPs to lie down on the floor. After that they had planned to form a military government, declare a state of emergency, abolish the Constitution, re-introduce the death sentence, grant an amnesty to imprisoned ultra-Rightists and put leaders of political parties and trade unions on trial.

That is how the dictatorial military clique would like to abolish bourgeois democracy. In its view the country and its entire population are an an-

nexe of military barracks, and "law and order" means imposing the death sentence. How little the legitimate government knew about what was brewing may be seen from the fact that in the first hours following the seizure of the Spanish parliament by the putschists, the government asked General Armada, the army's deputy chief of staff, to negotiate with the putschists on its behalf; the government was unaware that he himself was one of the ringleaders of the plot. The putsch in Spain ended in a fiasco. But who can guarantee there will be no repetition?

In neighbouring Portugal in March 1981, a few weeks after the events in Spain, it became known that there was an active military clique there too, consisting of men and officers who had served in the colonial army in Africa and now belonged to two terrorist anti-Communist organisations—the Army for the Liberation of Portugal (*ELP*) and the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (*MDLP*). On the day of the Spanish putsch these organisations intended to make a radio broadcast calling on the Portuguese armed forces to revolt against the government. Has the putsch simply been postponed?

Let us now look at France, which in the 1960s provided a classical example of how the generals' clique operates. The terrorist OAS, which tried to overthrow and kill General de Gaulle, constituted such a clique with colonialist inclinations. OAS leader General Raoul Salan had been Commander-in-Chief of the French Army in Indo-China and afterwards in Algeria. Salan's deputy up to his arrest in 1962, General Edmond Jouhaud, had been

Inspector General of the Air Force. Salan's successor as head of the OAS was Colonel Godard, his Chief of Staff—General Gardy, the head of the organisational department was Colonel Gardes, the chief of intelligence—Colonel Pérez, and so on. Salan's closest associates were General Juin, former Chief of the French General Staff, and General Challe, former Commander-in-Chief of the French Army in Algeria. It was a full military staff.

Ever since last century reactionary military cliques in France have been inclined to engage in plotting. During the German occupation in the 1940s, the pro-Hitler Vichy regime was headed by Marshal Philippe Pétain, the idol of the military clique. But only in recent years did the military clique's doctrine fuse completely with fascist ideas. Fearing more than anything else the growing might of the united Left forces, these circles will continue to be prepared to undertake sinister ventures.

It might seem that in Britain, a country of "classical" bourgeois democracy where the government has always boasted of its "immunity" to fascism, there could never be any danger of an authoritarian coup by generals, especially since the neo-fascist organisations that sprang up after the war are extremely weak compared with workers' organisations. But in August 1974 Lord Chalfont, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and a fierce opponent of détente, asked in the pages of the London *Times* whether a military coup was feasible in Britain—and answered in the affirmative.

More and more people in Britain, he wrote, are beginning seriously and not without relish to con-

sider the possibility of setting up an authoritarian government in Britain.

This is not the statement of a British nazi or racist, but of a bourgeois politician of "moderate" views. Evidently he knew perfectly well what he was speaking about. Admirers of Pinochet's tactics dwell on the Thames too.

It is no secret that the Right-wing generals on the Rhine are also in an "authoritarian" mood. The surviving generals of Hitler's Wehrmacht have retired, but many nazi colonels, majors and lieutenants are still serving in the Bundeswehr. As far back as the 1960s it was estimated that approximately a quarter of the men serving in the Bundeswehr were in sympathy with the neo-nazis.

Young officers are brought up along "traditional" lines, that is to say, virtually in the old fascist spirit. They are taught to hate not only the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, but also the "Left-wingers" in their own country. It is West German generals and colonels, together with their American patrons, who are today holding key posts at NATO headquarters and issuing orders to military men throughout nearly the whole of Western Europe.

When the "black colonels" staged a coup in Greece in 1967 and established a military-fascist dictatorship there, an inquiry proved that the conspirators had acted in accordance with detailed instructions drafted by the CIA and the southern headquarters of NATO to further the interests of the Atlantic bloc in the eastern Mediterranean area.

In February 1981 Spain witnessed the generals' putsch, mentioned above. Several weeks later

the Secretary-General of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), Felipe González Márquez, reported that according to information in his party's possession the putschists had had preliminary contacts with the entourage of US President Ronald Reagan. They had been given to understand that the United States would neither oppose nor facilitate the coup.

In other words, *the strategy of imperialism is merging with the strategy of neo-fascism*. If we bear this in mind, many things become clear. Considerations of this nature can at certain times incite NATO strategists to pro-fascist actions in various parts of the world.

Of course, NATO generals, including American ones, never express any sympathy for fascism while they are holding official posts. Evidently they are strictly barred from doing so by their Washington chiefs, who are afraid lest the generals be discredited in the eyes of world opinion. Official NATO leaders usually stress their "loyalty to democracy", although they have no hesitation about threatening countries which have a strong Communist movement.

One thing at any rate is clear. The neo-fascists in various countries are today firmly convinced that the Pentagon and NATO would go to any lengths to prevent a Left-wing victory in Western Europe by mobilising the military as well as outright pogrom-makers. That is what the Pinochets and would-be Pinochets of Western Europe are counting on. The pretext may be the Communists joining the government in a major country. Not so long ago one Pentagon expert confirmed that "con-

tingency plans" exist in the event of the Italian Communists entering the government.

Does all this apply only to Europe? No. It applies to any part of the world where reactionary forces are active. Let us take Japan as an example.

Japan's postwar Constitution stipulates that it shall never go to war and shall not maintain a regular army, apart from small "self-defence forces". But quite a different situation exists in Japan today. In contravention of the Constitution, Japan possesses a powerful new army and the generals are once again becoming the most influential force in Tokyo. If democratic parties and organisations stand in its way, this force is likely to call for the help of fascist cutthroats. The latter and the generals are getting ready to remove this roadblock.

Finally, let us look at the United States itself. It is in fact the Pentagon which is the real power in Washington. The State Department, which is the office of US diplomacy, has now come under the control of the Right-wing military represented by General Haig. So for the time being this military clique has no need for a change of government: it already holds the reins of power.

But what could happen in the United States if the American people, tired of the insane arms race, should send to the White House a progressive politician like Franklin Roosevelt, advocating peaceful coexistence?

In that event the US military clique would hardly remain idle. One need only recall that in the 1950s, soon after the war in Korea, Washington's military circles wanted to put ultra-Rightist General Douglas MacArthur in the presidential chair.

General Mark Clark, former Commander-in-Chief of US armed forces in the Far East, said at that time that many American generals had formerly turned their backs on politics but could no longer do so.

Later, in 1961, Right-wing General Edwin Walker unashamedly urged to establish a military regime in the United States and specifically nominated himself for the post of dictator. A year later, when John Kennedy was President, *The Washington Post* noted that a most alarming situation had developed in the US armed forces and among reservists, where a movement had come into being similar to that in the French army which had tried to overthrow General de Gaulle (the OAS! — E.H.). Reporting that the Kennedy Administration knew who the leaders of the "sixth column" were, the paper drew attention to the fact that this column was penetrating deeper and deeper into all sections of the US state apparatus.

Exactly the same conclusion was drawn by Professor Harrison Brown and James Real, the authors of *Community of Fear*. Published in America at that time, their book looked at US policy in perspective. In one of the chapters they stated:

"There is rather clearly a military elite emerging in the United States which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility towards the Soviet Union and which wields enormous political as well as military power.

"...Indeed, the military elite is clearly in a position to assume actual political command over the

US striking forces if there are serious signs of 'weakness' in US foreign relations."¹

The authors thus hint cautiously at plans to set up a military dictatorship in the United States if the international situation worsens.

We may also cite G. Wright Mills, a well-known American sociologist, who writes in *The Power Elite* that the US has a military clique which should rather be called a "power elite" because it consists of military men, as well as economists and politicians, whose interests are increasingly coinciding.

This was the case under President Kennedy. In those years the White House could be apprehensive of a "sixth column" moving towards dictatorship. But would we be mistaken in saying today that the "sixth column" and the White House now constitute a single whole, although the US Constitution remains valid?

Such are the facts. We see the same picture everywhere: the "generals on white horses" will stop at nothing in order to become dictators.

3.

Yet another question arises: What practical steps must they take in order to come to power? How are they to pave the way to military dictatorship? It is in this endeavour that terrorist tactics are involved.

¹ Harrison Brown, James Real, *Community of Fear*, California, 1960, p. 34.

Terrorist tactics as a whole consist in bringing the situation in a particular country to boiling point, at which stage a "redeemer general" can be imposed on the nation. This is precisely the objective of such branches of the Black International as the New Order (read: Black Order) in France and Italy, the New Force and Falange in Spain, the Liberation Army in Portugal, the Military Sports Group and the National Socialist Action Front in West Germany, the National Front and the British Movement in Great Britain, the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society in the United States, and dozens of similar gangs in various countries.

It is to this end that terrorist raids and pogroms, acts of murder and arson are perpetrated. Everything is done for the sake of military fascism, paving the way for black fascism. This, at any rate, is what the neo-fascists are hoping. This may be considered to be the answer to the question posed at the beginning of the previous chapter: Why are the neo-fascists of today increasingly resorting to terrorism?

It would be wrong to attribute their actions, as many bourgeois observers do, simply to the "demoralisation" of fascist youths, to their personal cruelty, to their "bad upbringing" and their "blind fanaticism". In this issue it is policy, not traits of character, that is decisive.

This is confirmed by the neo-fascists themselves.

The ringleader of West Germany's terrorist Military Sports Group, Hoffmann, has bluntly stated that the purpose of his organisation's "military exercises" is to prepare "for X day, when the po-

lice will be unable by themselves to cope with the Leftists".

"If the Leftists and Communists gain the upper hand in the government and the police cannot tackle them, we shall help," he explains. "In a situation close to civil war, we shall be in great demand... We'll have no scruples about opposing the Communists."

On the other side of the ocean Hoffmann is echoed by Matt Koehl, führer of the National Socialist White People's Party in the US, who says their time will come when there's a total catastrophe, when the ruling elite will no longer be able to control the panic-stricken mob. They will then offer ideas and leadership and no mercy will be shown to their enemies.

Dermot McLaughlin, leader of the British Movement, has said: "We envisage the formation of a 'Free Corps'... should government forces cease to maintain stability." ¹

These and similar statements are a signal to the military cliques: "Carry out a coup d'état, we are with you!" It is quite possible that such statements have their origin in a general instruction issued by the Black International.

For his part Belgian defence minister Vanden Boeynants confirmed: "Under certain circumstances the army will be called in to maintain public order." But what if it fails to cope with the task, as the fascists are sure?

The periodical *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* ("Germany: Past and Present"), pub-

lished in West Germany under the editorship of Wilfred von Oven, a former aide-de-camp of Goebbels, puts forward the idea of a return to Germany of the "führer's aristocracy". By "aristocracy" he clearly means the dictatorial military clique represented by Admiral Karl Dönitz, whom Hitler himself just before his death named as his successor.

When a generals' putsch was attempted in Spain in February 1981, it turned out that the "joint military-civilian junta" was to include the chairman of the New Force terrorist fascist organisation and two leaders of the Francoist Falange. The top posts had been shared out well in advance.

Thus, depending on the particular country, a merger of the ultra-Right military with fascism is either in progress or in prospect. As has been confirmed in Spain, this does not mean that the neo-fascists intend to hand over the initiative and the entire leadership to the military clique. What they want is to use the clique as a force that can clear the way for them.

Their first intention under the dictators is to form detachments of SS cutthroats to replace the old police force. These bandits will be ordered to help shock military units—paratroopers, commandos, marines and other regular shock troops—shed blood in the streets. According to the calculations of the neo-fascists, they will ultimately take over actual leadership, thereby bringing about an era of new Hitlers and Mussolinis.

Fantastic plans? No doubt. But we must not forget that behind these plans in the capitalist world stand very powerful arch-reactionary forces.

¹ *Morning Star*, February 6, 1981, p. 1.

Does this mean that the neo-fascists are preparing to mount large-scale terrorist offensives in the major countries of Western Europe in the near future? Not necessarily. Time will show whether they are able to do this and a great deal depends on international developments. As has already been said, one presumes that the way such issues will be resolved will be directly or indirectly affected by the strategy adopted by the Pentagon and the US State Department.¹

Official fascist literature does not, of course, discuss such matters openly. The authors and publishers could still be brought to court and anti-fascists can actively interfere in such a case. But in hectographed leaflets for internal consumption and in speeches made by the more fanatical neo-fascist leaders frequent statements are made envisaging collaboration with Right-wing generals.

One should also add that not all generals and other military leaders in capitalist countries should be classed as belonging to the camp of military fascism. There are military men who realise that their colleagues are preparing a terrible threat to mankind and they speak out for the strengthening

¹ Note should be taken of the fact that the Right extremists' hopes of victory when a military dictatorship is established are not always warranted. This was shown in the case of Turkey in 1980, when the military group that came to power as a result of savage extremist excesses immediately started the mass arrest of terrorists, both "Left" and Right. Evidently this was due to special circumstances, due to which fascism of the purely pogrom type in Turkey might have complicated that country's foreign relations. Within the ruling military group, however, there is known to be a pro-fascist wing.

of democracy. Yet it is the pro-imperialist and reactionary servicemen who predominate.

Are all these generals, Bonapartes and would-be Bonapartes, outright fascists or semi-fascists? In practice it is not the terminology that matters. NATO generals, like Generalissimo Franco, never officially called themselves fascists. We know that the "generals on white horses" are only one step away from the "führers", "duces" and "caudillos". History has conclusively proved this to our generation. Military Bonapartism and "pure" fascism are blood brothers, with the elder one holding the stirrup to help the younger one mount.

At the present time the Right-wing military clique is more dangerous than the outright fascists who are hiding behind its shield: this clique is in control of the political and operational levers which are still out of the reach of the fascists, and the nuclear press-buttons are at no great distance from its hands.

It is not a question of the personal interests of the retired generals or marshals, though these too play a major role. All military cliques or "sixth columns" active in the capitalist countries are in the van of the opponents of détente and disarmament. They all call for a continuation of the cold war irrespective of the threat this may pose to mankind. They all demand the enforcement of harsh anti-Communist measures at the expense of democratic liberties.

Although the ultra-Right militarists fear and hate each other, they are acting in concert on the fronts of the international class struggle and in their fight against national liberation movements.

Everything points to the fact that the military ultras see the chain reaction of fascism as a series of consecutive dictators' plots in different countries.

Together with the whole camp of international reaction, they regard the neo-fascists as an indispensable reserve for combating the democratic forces. No wonder that after the collapse of the generals' putsch in Spain in February 1981, New Force fascists held demonstrations glorifying the conspirators and calling for their example to be followed.

In this way the fascists of today think to regain what their predecessors lost in 1945. The working-class movement is now much too strong for them. They cannot fight it by themselves. But they are able to intimidate Philistines, cause public alarm and help their favourite dictators come to power. They do not need popular support to commit murder, arson and provocations.

The possibility does exist that fascism, whether in uniform or civilian clothes, might score certain successes in one country or another. The situation changes according to developments, which are at times unexpected.

Nevertheless, the present alignment of world forces shows that no fascism, even military authoritarian fascism, can contend with the peoples.

The Bloc of Right and "Left" Terrorists

1.

Right and "Left" terrorists. Two groups adopting positions that seem to be diametrically opposite. Two trends between which there ought to be a life-and-death struggle. Is this really so?

No, it is not.

A very strange phenomenon has been observed since the late 1960s, that is to say, from the very moment Left-extremist terrorist organisations emerged: a hidden interlacing of these two terrorist trends reaching in some cases the point of complete fusion. This sounds incredible, but it is borne out by irrefutable facts.

This alliance is particularly manifest in Italy, the most "terroristic" country in today's capitalist world. There have already been joint actions there by Right and Left extremists and in some cases jointly signed leaflets have been distributed. It has been noticed that ultra-Left newspapers refrain from attacking the neo-fascists. Some analysts say there is a kind of "non-aggression pact" between the two.¹

¹ See *The World Economy and International Relations*, No. 8, 1979, p. 120.

In 1978 neo-fascist Franco Freda, one of the ringleaders of the Black Order, said: "We also appeal to those Leftists who reject the existing system (read: who stand for terrorism.—*E.H.*). We are confident of achieving unity of action with them." Pino Rauti, head of the neo-fascist Black Order, confirmed: "Just as I am bringing home to our boys that our main target are not the Leftist groups, so these Leftist groups must understand that their chief target is not the ISM."

When the Red Brigades kidnapped Mario Panatichi, a seven-year-old schoolboy, in Turin and demanded a large ransom for his release, lawyer M. Tramaglia, an MP representing the ISM, acted as intermediary.

There are even more striking facts. Renato Curcio, the acknowledged leader and "ideologist" of the Red Brigades, who has been in jail since 1976, was formerly the head and one of the founders of the Italian branch of the New Order—a transnational terrorist organisation set up after the war by former SS-men, and associated in Italy with the neo-fascist ISM.

Curcio, who took the "Brigades" underground in the early 1970s, still figures as its spiritual leader today, supervising it from jail. After the kidnapping of G. D'Urso, a high-placed judicial official, by the Red Brigades in January 1981, Curcio made a statement from his jail cell: "We have already decided: D'Urso was to be found alive, tightly bound up in a car left, as if in derision, near his office—the Ministry of Justice."

Curcio's shift from fascist to Left-extremist terrorism—a shift he made quite unexpectedly—is but one of many such cases in Italy and in other countries. According to the Milan periodical *Giorni*, in some countries the fascists have been given the following instructions: "Pretend to be Maoists! Set up illusive Red Brigades and Black September groups!"

The Italian police have established that within the apparatus of the Executioners of Italy, the fascist organisation which, as has already been mentioned, threatened the country with a St. Bartholomew's massacre, there was a special section whose function was to disguise its members as Left extremists and which taught them how to penetrate particular organisations. These werewolves describe themselves as supporters of the Secret Contemporary Proletarian Army, the Association for the Elimination of Fascists, the organisation called The Struggle Goes On and the international Black September organisation.

Attempts were even made to form mixed Right-Left terrorist organisations. Youths from the New Rightists, for example, held a congress one day in the Teutoburger Wald (forest) in West Germany. This gang engaged in terrorist raids and street hooliganism and went so far as to criticise the official neo-nazi NDP for being "insufficiently active"(!). These pogromists acknowledged Hitler, Goebbels and Mao Zedong as their teachers!

In 1978 Italian Senator Arialdo Banfi, President of the International Federation of Resistance Movements, reported that Portuguese-Italian fascist agents of the AGINTER had drawn up a "strategic

note" which said: "In our view, the primary task should be the dismantling of the state machinery, and this should be done under cover of Left extremism and anarchism. We have already infiltrated our men into groups of these trends. We must obviously adapt all our actions—propaganda and acts of violence—to this disguise, to make it appear as if they proceed from our adversaries."

The same document pointed out that fascist agents had infiltrated the Metropolitan Political Collective, the organisation out of which grew the Red Brigades. It was at the time of that infiltration that Curcio shifted from the ultra-Right New Order to the Red Brigades. The kind of propaganda campaign Curcio conducted began to be conducted by Domenico Delli Veneri, the "godfather" of the South Italian terrorist ultra-Left Armed Proletarian Nuclei (NAP). The latter's membership is reported to be almost identical with that of the neo-fascist Mussolini Action Group.

That is not all. Earlier, in the sixties, when the counterfeit ultra-Left Communist Party of Switzerland (Marxist-Leninist) was founded, its leading members were Yves Guérin Sérac and Robert Leroy—both former officers of the SS Charlemagne detachment and afterwards active members of the French terrorist OAS. Both men were always welcome at the embassy of Maoist China in the Swiss capital.¹

In the late 1960s former Italian fascist Mario Merlino, who later contributed articles to the newspaper of the pro-Maoist Communist Party of

Switzerland, was instructed by Sérac and Leroy to participate in the founding of an Italian anarchist group called March 22, which later became notorious for its terrorist acts and ties with the Red Brigades.

Some attempts at fascist infiltration of "Left" terrorist organisations were made in other countries too, in Spain, for instance, where this involved the GRAPO terrorist organisation, an offshoot of the pro-Maoist PCE (r) group. Such mergers led the Italian Communist Ugo Pecchioli to wonder "whether the resurgence of Right-wing terrorism, just as Left-wing terrorism is fading, suggests that one mind is orchestrating the two extremes".¹

Some ultra-Left terrorist groups are suspected of having been founded for the purpose of attracting Left-wing youths and indoctrinating them with fascist ideas. One such organisation operates in Italy and France under the name of the Worker Autonomy; it specialises in making hostile sallies during peaceful demonstrations, provoking bloody riots and fostering hatred of the Italian Communist Party. The members of this group are well armed; quite a few of them are said to be fascists.

The following fact confirms that all this manoeuvring is deliberate. There are many cases of fascist terrorists "switching" to ultra-Left organisations, whereas Left extremists rarely go over to the ultra-Rightists.

There is no doubt that the neo-fascists are determined to penetrate the ranks of the "Left" ter-

¹ *Das Konzept*, Zürich, November 20, 1978.

¹ *The Economist*, London, November 22, 1978, p. 55.

rorists. The aim is to urge the ultra-Leftists to conduct a strategy of intimidation and tension similar to that of the fascists.

It has to be admitted that this operation in some places has been conducted with certain success.

2.

One may ask: Is it a question of the fascists deceiving the ultra-Leftists? Or is it that the "deserters" from the Right, people like Curcio and Merlino, who have at least proved they are no cowards, chose this road because they had somehow suddenly undergone a rebirth and come to believe in "arch-revolutionary" socialism, and for this reason went over to the camp of their former enemies?

Has there really been a striking "change of heart", an explicable shift from one extreme to the other, a profound psychological rebirth?

Definitely not. Politicians do not usually make such sharp turns in their convictions, though there are rare instances of this happening.

It may be that some ruffians see no essential difference between neo-fascist and ultra-Left terrorism, and so it is all the same to them on whose behalf they kill, raid and rob for a fine reward. As for the lumpen-proletarians, the reward is what they are after. But it remains a fact that Right extremism is merging with Left extremism.

What is more, it is not only the cadres of the two groupings that are mixing; their ideological platforms are also coming together. Paradoxical as

this merger may seem, it is supported by documentary evidence.

Until recently the main Left-extremist terrorist organisation in West Germany was the so-called Red Army Faction (RAF—*Rote-Armee-Fraktion*) or the Baader-Meinhof Group, which arose in 1975. Among its founders were persons coming from rich capitalist circles, as well as from the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpen-proletariat. It has since been responsible for a number of sensational murders committed in the style of the Red Brigades, the Front Line and other Italian gangs—the murder of Siegfried Buback, Prosecutor-General of the Federal Republic of Germany, of the banker Ponto, of the president of the employers' union Hanns-Martin Schleyer, and others.

No instances of neo-fascist penetration of the RAF have come to light. But this organisation objectively played into the hands of the neo-nazis by sowing fear among the population, scaring the bourgeoisie and inciting military circles.

Probably it was sudden awareness of this fact that induced the leaders of the group—Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof, who were jailed in 1976—to commit suicide in their cells, thereby beheading their organisation. Incidentally, a whole arsenal of weapons was found in their cells. Did they at the end realise where they were heading, whom they were helping? They might have been murdered. At any rate the third leader of the group, H. Mahler, who survived, made the following statement on television:

"The present RAF follows this principle: first we need things to be utterly bad so that (eventual-

ly—E.H.) they become better. This means fascism must be lured out into the open... On the basis of this concept, the present members of the RAF subjectively may no longer be regarded as Leftists... They are pawns and in the political power game they are becoming different people... The capitalists know that the crisis will not last long, so they are paving the way by taking advantage of the RAF."¹

In other words, ultra-Left terrorists in West Germany, like those in Italy, do not deny that their actions can lead to the establishment of a military dictatorship in the country and that they themselves are helping the Right-wing bourgeoisie and the military to achieve this end. They even would like to see a military dictatorship because, as the successors of the brutal fascists, they would like to replace them. Can there be a higher degree of political insanity?

In Turkey the Left extremists have added undisguised anti-Communism to their ideological arsenal. Ismail Bilen, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey, pointed out: "It is precisely hostility towards the Communist Party that unites neo-fascist and all manner of ultra-Left Maoist terrorists in Turkey."

All Left extremists stand by the same theory: "The worse, the better". Which means better fascism than the revolutionary working-class movement. A statement to this effect was made by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a Left extremist close to the anarchists, the leader of the rioting students in

Paris in 1968: "However horrible things are with the young neo-nazis, they may still be closer to us than the Leftists, whose goal is to achieve political power..."¹

Everything points to an ideological affinity between the ultra-Left terrorists and the neo-fascists.

Is this surprising? Not at all. *Of their own accord* the ultra-Left terrorists have all the time been taking the path of the neo-fascists. The latter seek to intimidate society by acts of violence; so do the former. The neo-fascists have a mortal hatred for Communists and the socialist states; so do the ultra-Leftists. The former are manipulated by the CIA and other imperialist agents; so are the latter. The former want military dictators to come in; so do the latter.

The ultra-Leftists have the same motivation as the neo-fascists: they think *their* turn will come following the advent of the military dictators; they think *their* fruits will grow in countries bled and despoiled by the fascists.

Only madmen can harbour such thoughts.

3.

In the final analysis who stands to gain by the bloc of Right and pseudo-Left terrorists? Surely not the latter. It is neo-fascism that profits from it at little cost to itself, for with the help of this bloc it seeks to intensify the general wave of terror in the capitalist countries, thereby increasing the

¹ *Konkret*, Hamburg, No. 1, 1978, p. 24.

¹ See *Die Tageszeitung*, West Berlin, June 15, 1979.

desire of Philistines to take refuge in a military dictatorship.

The losers are honest Left-wingers: their inexperience is exploited and they are pushed in a direction that runs counter to their aspirations. Many young Left extremists will one day realise with horror how they have been made use of. The predominance of ultra-Left over neo-fascist organisations in a country like Italy is therefore an illusion.

There is no straightforward understanding between the Right and "Left" terrorists. On the contrary, there occur occasional bloody clashes between them, as was the case in Paris recently. Nevertheless, the policies of the two groupings have a great deal in common, and both are particularly apprehensive of genuine peaceful coexistence between states, which would cut the ground from under them.

This is what happens: honest but confused Leftists in Western countries often fall into the trap laid for them. This is a new device in the tactics of present-day fascism which deserves scrutiny.

Political corpses with the nazi swastika stamped on their foreheads are rising from their graves. One must not think that a real revival of fascism is looming. In the course of the 36 postwar years fascism has in fact been defeated; in Europe, its birth place, all its attempts have been foiled. It has failed to occupy a single important position in Europe, with the exception of Italy, mainly in the country's south. The balance of forces between the true Left-wingers and the Rightists in today's world has changed in favour of the Left-wingers

to such an extent that the successors of the führer and the duce have been losing all along.

But the situation may change when bellicose imperialism needs the fascists once again. A final end to the cold war would threaten them with death. That is why they will do their utmost to frustrate détente, to play havoc with people's nerves and to disturb the peaceful life of nations.

As for the neo-anarchists and neo-Nechaevists, they have no future, just as Bakunin and Nechaev themselves had none. No social force, apart from a handful of excited youths isolated from the people, is standing or will stand behind them. The lumpen-proletariat is incapable of changing the world and making history.

But does not another political force exist today, quite an active one—namely, Maoism—that has been trying to catch up with the Right-wing and pseudo-Left enemies of socialism in carrying out similar plans?

Maoist Accomplices

1.

Following the example of the anarchists, the Left extremists almost always and almost everywhere say they are, above all, principled opponents of the state and want to have nothing to do with any government. They accuse Communists in various countries of being "dependent on the government of the Soviet Union and of therefore being unable to pursue a truly revolutionary policy".

Does this mean that no government in the world today is taking care of the Left extremists themselves?

Such a government does exist and it is secretly patronizing pseudo-Leftists in many countries. Furthermore, without this support ultra-Left terrorist organisations in many countries would have failed to survive and would have withered away.

We are talking about the Maoist government of the People's Republic of China. There is abundant evidence of ties between Left extremists and Maoist agents. Like the relations between the Right and pseudo-Left terrorists, these ties are of a dual nature: rather veiled direct contacts and the "ideological" political affinity of the two sides. This

duality may be seen in an unbiased and careful study of the facts.

It has long been common knowledge that the capitalist world from about the 1960s on witnessed the emergence of false "Communist parties"—organisations calling themselves "Communist" but actually engaging in tireless persecution of genuine Communist parties and having nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

It is also symptomatic that wherever these organisations took deep root, sooner or later they gave rise to terrorist groups. This was the case in Italy, West Germany, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland and Turkey as well as in many countries of Asia and Latin America. The one invariably gave birth to the other.

Italy, for instance, saw the emergence of an organisation calling itself the Fighting Communist Party (FCP) and now, wherever it can, it is hampering the work of the genuine and mass Communist Party of Italy. It was revealed that the FCP is associated with the Red Brigades. An unnamed representative of the Brigades told an *Espresso* correspondent: "Our guidelines have been and remain Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese cultural revolution... The build-up of proletarian forces owing to the military-political association of the two main components—the Fighting Communist Party and the mass revolutionary cells—will be taking place throughout a whole historical phase."¹

¹ *Espresso*, January 11, 1981.

In other words, the Red Brigades and its allies go even further than the present Maoist leaders of China, who have condemned the "cultural revolution". Can we infer from this that the Brigades and the Maoists had established close relations much earlier—relations not just of a purely political nature?

Active in West Germany is a pro-Maoist Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist), which publishes *Roter Morgen* (Red Morning) and chants the slogan: "Down with the German Communist Party!" (the genuine Communist Party in West Germany). The Maoist party has a marked inclination towards terrorism; it may have been in contact with the terrorist Baader-Meinhof Group. Incidentally, Michael Borchardt, a former member of the pro-Maoist CPG (M-L), now publishes the leaflet *Der Aufmarsch* (Campaign), the organ of a fascist front propagating Franco-style fascism.

Two years or so ago Fritz-Ulrich Bundt, vice-chairman of West Germany's neo-nazi National Democratic Party, confidentially told a man he considered a supporter: "We can easily come to an understanding with the boys from M-L (the pro-Maoist party.—E.H.). We have much in common: the demand for an independent Germany (a revanchist slogan.—E.H.), for example, the pronouncements against the Russians... If we and the Maoists are together, things will really get going in the next few years!"¹ Several months later the neo-nazis and the pro-Maoist groups in

Bonn and Hamburg held demonstrations under common slogans protesting at the visit of Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev to West Germany.

A terrorist gang of youngsters called the "June 2 Movement" operated in West Berlin and was associated with the local anarchists, as well as the Maoists.

Contacts with the Maoists were also established by other ultra-Left terrorist groups in Western Europe, such as the MRPP and the AOC in Portugal, which participated in raids on the premises of Communist and other progressive organisations. In the mid-1970s they tried to provoke riots in the centre of Lisbon in order to hamper the normal course of the election campaign. Later the leaders of one of these groups went for instructions to Peking, where there is evidently a special department supervising such groups.

In Japan there are pro-Maoist terrorist groups like the Militants and the Red Army; in Turkey—the terrorist Worker-Peasant Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party; in Nicaragua—the ultra-Left Worker Front; in India—the separatists in Nagaland, Mizoram and other regions in the north-east of the country, who are trying to set up a pro-Peking puppet government there—they are trained in terrorist tactics at special schools and camps in China.

In June 1981 the Indian press reported that the Socialist Committee of Nagaland, set up by the Maoists in the north-east of India, had established close ties with such separatist organisations as the Mizo National Front, the National Volunteer Forces, and the National Liberation Army of Ma-

¹ J. Pomorin, R. Junge, *Die Neonazis*, Dortmund, 1978, p. 19.

nipur, as well as with nationalist organisations in Assam State.¹ China was engaging in such subversive activities at the same time as its diplomats were talking about their desire to normalise relations with India.

In the Philippines terrorist operations are carried out by the pro-Maoist New People's Army; in Peru Sendero luminoso from July 1980 to June 1981 committed more than 800 acts of terrorism. A look at the map shows that the chain of pro-Maoist terrorist organisations runs across the areas to which Peking lays claim as the sphere of influence of its contemplated Great Chinese Empire. In other words, China, too, has a system of state-sponsored terrorism.

According to the Italian *Europeo*, in 1978 two meetings of Right-wing groupings from various countries were held in Brazil and Spain, at which it was decided to pay special attention to developing co-operation with ultra-Left groups that recognised some of the provisions of the programme of the Black International. Spanish fascist José Tolo Blasco said in an interview to *Europeo*: "It has already been observed that Mao's theory is not far removed from the theory of Hitler... Among the members of Left-extremist groupings whom we met there were Italians, of course. The Red Brigades? I cannot speak about this. I can only give some hints. The Red Brigades organisation is divided... We had contacts with the faction that preaches Chinese ideology..."

¹ *New Wave*, Delhi, June 27, 1981.

For Left extremists Peking seems to have worked out a whole system of indoctrinating young people beyond the boundaries of the Chinese People's Republic—a system that takes into account the "experience" of the "cultural revolution". Its target are primarily the immature and least disciplined young people, mostly of petty-bourgeois and lumpen-proletarian origin. Indiscriminate demagoguery, the encouragement of anarchist instincts, the kindling of pogromist and putschist sentiments, the fostering of scorn for the elder generation, bribery—all means are brought into play. Special attention is paid to creating Maoist cells at universities. The Maoist literature distributed in large quantities is also aimed at students.

The corruption of youth by pseudo-revolutionary, gangster slogans is being done continuously. As to lumpen-proletarians they do not need to be taught how to behave as gangsters. The Maoists understand very well what are the props of ultra-Left terrorism outside China.

The reasons why the other side responds are also plain. Ultra-Left organisations in capitalist countries are in dire need of funds. They cannot exist on robberies or ransom money alone. Any conspiracy needs a lot of money, especially one that requires swift movement of conspirators and the maintenance of efficient agents.

What is more, ultra-Left terrorists also need political, including covert diplomatic protection. If both money and protection are readily granted by major foreign powers (the United States or China), then opinions among the terrorists as regards the benefits of such deals do not differ.

It is not only organisational and financial matters that unite the Maoists and the ultra-Left extremists. They also have a common ideology.

2.

The first thing that unites them is their uncovered hostility towards the working-class movement in all countries.

We have already spoken about the attitude of Left extremists towards that movement. They cast slurs on the working class, claiming that it has become bourgeois, and that therefore the only revolutionary forces are the youth and the lumpen-proletariat. The Maoists adopted the same standpoint under Mao Zedong: to the youth and the lumpen-proletariat as a positive factor they added the peasants, who, they claimed, are willing to participate in "guerilla wars". From the outset the adoption of the views of Nechaev and Bakunin was characteristic of Mao and his followers.

The Maoists went so far as to avoid using the term "international working-class movement" in their literature and they labelled the workers' strike movement "spontaneous unrest". In their opinion, the urban working class in the West hampered rather than promoted the cause of "speeding up the revolution". But the lumpen-proletariat suited them perfectly (do not the neo-fascists likewise seek out the lumpen-proletarians and youths in order to drown the working class in blood everywhere?).

This attitude of the Maoists towards the working-class movement was distinctly reflected in the way they treated Communist parties in Western Europe and elsewhere. Leaders of these parties who had personally met Mao Zedong have spoken of this and their opinions have coincided. Mao Zedong unambiguously gave them to understand that he did not believe in them and that he attached no great importance to their parties.¹

When a prominent British Communist argued that a third world war would threaten the comparatively small British nation with almost total extermination, he was told: "Who said that a worldwide socialist community should be built together with the British?"

A Czechoslovak Communist asked the Maoists: "If all the 15 million inhabitants of Czechoslovakia are destroyed, who will build socialism in my country?" The answer was: "One should be able to sacrifice the small for the sake of the big."

A statement by West Germany's Communist Party said: "At the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1960 in Moscow our representatives told the Chinese comrades that an atomic war would be a national disaster for our people..." They received the same answer.

There was divergence of opinion between Mao Zedong and Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communist Party. In the spring of 1969 the theo-

¹ Peking behaved differently towards the false "Communist parties" whose establishment it had financed in capitalist countries. Yet it regarded these parties not as truly authoritative organisations, but merely as convenient agencies.

retical journal of the Maoists, *Hunqi*, printed an article obviously directed against the Italian Communist Party. It said: "... Strange as it may seem, these people dread like the plague the peoples' revolutionary struggle in the zone of national liberation movements (Asia is meant.—E.H.) ... Their only worry is lest the sparks of resistance of the oppressed nations and peoples in their regions should trigger off a catastrophe, and this anxiety gives them no peace of mind."¹ The inference is that it is a sin to prevent a catastrophe.

Communists in the West, naturally, could not help pondering the fate of their nations. To the Maoists this was—and still is—of no importance at all. As a matter of fact, they have written off the working people of the West.

What a striking resemblance this bears to the attitude today's Left extremists adopt to the working class! No wonder the Maoists take such great care of them!

As a matter of course, the Chinese hegemonists' hostility towards the working-class movement is reflected in their foreign policy, which has taken the guise of frenzied anti-Sovietism. This is common knowledge. Even today, in the 1980s, the Maoists continue to speak in more aggressive anti-Soviet terms than do the imperialists. Again there is a complete identity of views with Left extremists in the West, who make a point of cursing the Soviet Union. Italy's Red Brigades, for instance, far from concealing their anti-Soviet feelings, advertise them.

¹ *Hunqi*, Nos. 3 and 4, 1969.

To Mao Zedong's heirs it is not merely a matter of hostility towards the USSR. Aiming to create a hegemonic superpower, they base their entire foreign policy on a firm belief that a third world war is inevitable and that it will lead to the emergence of China as such a world-dominating power.

How do Left extremists view the prospects of such a war? Their pronouncements betray their dream of a third world war. They seem to believe that a catastrophe that would destroy the world will bring them a prosperous future.

Such "logic" can be expected of them. Deep, unbounded pessimism often gives rise to despair. This is true in politics as well as in private life. In fact all the "theoretical" utterances of the ultra-Left terrorists are imbued with despair. Instead of analysing the true nature of our epoch and the alignment of world forces and considering the most effective strategy which revolutionary movements should adopt, they exhibit an anarchist confusion and a readiness to accept catastrophe. This is exactly what the Maoist foreign policy-makers expect from their political allies in the West.

There is another hidden reason for the Maoists' affinity with the terrorists. Mao Zedong *himself* was, in fact, a petty-bourgeois extremist all his life; he joined the Communist movement and entrenched himself in it by means of terroristic measures. The cult of his personality which he introduced in the Party and in the country contributed to this to a great extent.

Mao Zedong recalled that in his youth he used to be close to the anarchists, that he had many friends among them and that at one time he want-

ed to organise an anarchist society. In an article he wrote in those days for a student newspaper he extolled Kropotkin,¹ rating him higher than Marx. Afterwards he said: "I was greatly influenced by the articles I read on anarchism. At the time I agreed with its principles."

But he continued to be an anarchist. Later, when he became Political Commissar of the Chinese Red Army, Mao staked his future on the lumpen-proletariat. He was indulgent towards the "vagabond tactics", which might have turned the army into gangs of bandits. At the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1928 this policy was condemned and described as anarchistic.

In the days of the "cultural revolution" Mao and his group gave instructions to put forward such sheer anarchist slogans as "Riot is a righteous cause", "Revolution is destruction" and so on. The fiendish *hunweipings* (Red Guards) were taught to overthrow everything, deny everything, doubt everything, and, basing themselves on this "philosophy", to raid Party, public and cultural organisations.

In what way does such propaganda differ from the propaganda campaign conducted by Left-extremist groups in the capitalist world, which are inciting confused and desperate youth to similar senseless acts of violence?

In 1906 Lenin wrote of the expropriations in the Russia of those days: "This form of struggle was

¹ P. A. Kropotkin (1842-1921), Russian prince, scholar and traveller; a theorist of the international anarchist movement, a firm opponent of Marxism.—Ed.

adopted as the preferable and even *exclusive* form of social struggle by the vagabond elements of the population, the lumpen-proletariat and anarchist groups."¹

The views of these declassed elements on the ways and means of public activity are shared today by Left extremists and Maoists.

It is true that the current ruling Maoist clique, headed by Deng Xiaoping, has renounced the tactics of the "cultural revolution", to which the clique itself nearly fell victim, and that the working-class movement in the West no longer comes under direct fire in Peking. But this is only a tactical device resorted to by the government of the People's Republic of China in order to consolidate its alliance with the capitalist countries and their ruling circles. The "ideological" roots of today's Left extremism have been largely nurtured by Maoism and nothing has changed in its essence.

The previous chapter cited evidence of the ideological affinity between the ultra-Left terrorists and the neo-fascists. This chapter has shown a similar affinity between the ultra-Left terrorists and the Peking hegemonists. The one does not contradict the other. To gain a foothold on the political scene, Left extremism is willing to enter into alliance with any anti-Communist forces, be it from the Right or from the "Left". This is especially true, since the Maoists themselves—this time at government level—are siding with the imperialist forces. It is pointless to search for any adherence

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 216.

to principle on the part of any of the parties concerned.

It remains a fact at any rate that Maoist China, one of the largest and most aggressive states in the world, is a direct, though secret, accomplice of Left-extremist terrorism.

The CIA: State Terrorism

1.

Analysing the social causes of terrorism and speaking of desperate unemployed youths and lumpen-proletariat, we have not so far dealt with the activities of another terrorist system that operates from across the ocean and that has a powerful state basis but no social one—the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

We shall not examine particular actions of the CIA; this subject has been dealt with in many books and in the reports of relevant parliamentary commissions. This chapter will only touch upon the special political features of the agency.

Information available shows that there is not a country in the world where the CIA does not have a branch and its resident agents; that the US Administration's annual allocations for such purposes to the CIA are astronomical and unprecedented; that for many years now the CIA has been resorting to foul means, including the bloodiest of deeds, to achieve its ends. Here are some of the major "special" operations the CIA has carried out in the past thirty years:

1953: plot that brought about the downfall of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mussadeq, who, however, escaped death.

1958: plans to assassinate Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser which proved abortive.

1959: assassination of Prime Minister Solomon Bandaranaike of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).

1961: assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba of the Republic of the Congo (now Zaire).

1966: plot that led to the overthrow of President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

1967: conspiracy that led to the death of Ché Guevara, the outstanding Latin American revolutionary.

1969: assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, Chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO).

1973: assassination of Amílcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde.

1973: assassination of General Carlos Prats, Chilean Minister of the Interior.

1973: assassination of President Salvador Allende of Chile.

1975: assassination of progressive Kenyan leader Josiah Kariuki.

1975-80: plots to assassinate the President of Mozambique.

1975: the assassination of the Liberian President's brother, Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance.

1976: assassination of Orlando Letelier, a former minister in the Allende government.

1977: assassination of President Marien Ngouabi of the People's Republic of the Congo.

1960-81: repeated attempts on the life of Cuban leader Fidel Castro Ruz.

1979-81: plans to assassinate Ayatollah Khomeini, leader of Iran.

1981: bomb explosion in Iran that killed 72 prominent members of the ruling Islamic Republican Party, including its General Secretary, Ayatollah Muhammad Beheshti.

1981: attempt to assassinate President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

1981: General Omar Torrijos Herrera, Commander-in-Chief of the Panamanian National Guard, killed in a pre-arranged air crash.

1981: plots to murder the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi.

We have omitted many CIA conspiracies in the countries of Latin America—they are too many to cite here. For example, there was the well-known Operation Concord, in the course of which many opposition leaders in Central and South America were murdered. And recent events in Nicaragua and Salvador are well known.

All these are only a few of the known traces of the worldwide operations conducted by the CIA year in, year out. Former CIA man Philip Agee says it is impossible to describe in full detail all the conspiracies, coups d'état, assassinations, invasions by mercenaries, and bombing raids organized by the CIA. All these types of CIA activity, he affirms, are still continuing to this day.

In November 1977 the *US News & World Report* wrote that between 1961 and 1976 the CIA carried out about 900 major secret operations "aimed at overthrowing governments and otherwise in-

fluencing political developments abroad".¹ A report published at the end of 1975 by the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities revealed that the CIA is employing criminals for those purposes. This means that the CIA is resorting to the same methods as neo-fascist and Left-extremist terrorist organisations. The same report said that high-placed government officials had discussed, and probably sanctioned, the setting up of a CIA physical elimination service.

Continuous worldwide terrorism! But what are the distinguishing features of CIA terrorist operations, apart from their *international* scale?

The primary difference is that, unlike non-government terrorist forces, the CIA acts not directly but through agents. Every operation is carried out by other hands, by foreign agents who engage in such actions as though in their own interests, for their own purposes. In other words, the CIA is practising a kind of *indirect* imperialist terrorism, always concealing its face behind a mask and sometimes several masks.

Neo-fascist terrorists kill their fellow citizens themselves, and so do ultra-Left terrorists. But the CIA operates on the world scene and only through cover organisations and individuals. It operates through them in order to confuse the trail and evade direct responsibility, if not suspicion. Among other things, this method enables the CIA without great risk to enlist the services of Right and ultra-Left terrorists who commit the murders.

Only in individual cases do some CIA executives tell, if not half-truths, at least a fraction of the truth about CIA work. These are mostly former CIA employees who have been pensioned off and who are dissatisfied over something. Such men sometimes really let the cat out of the bag, taking revenge on the bosses who dismissed them; at the same time they enjoy the uproar caused by their revelations and pocket the returns brought in by the sensation. In this way some CIA secrets are leaked to the press.

In the main, however, a solid wall of secrecy is maintained and everything is done through cover organisations. Thus, CIA operations constitute what may be called *secret service* terrorism which makes no declarations, professes no ideology and pretends to engage in nothing more than "collecting information". But this terrorist system has at its disposal colossal funds and a whole army of operatives in different countries.

What takes the Red Brigades, for example, months of strenuous work to prepare is done by CIA men within a day or two of receiving instructions over the telephone. Apart from anything else, the CIA network is safely protected by diplomatic immunity.

One could name several CIA auxiliary agencies in various parts of the world which do dirty work for it (and for themselves).

One was SAVAK, the secret police in Shah's Iran. In 1978 alone it murdered more than 3,000 people and injured and crippled a great many more. People were killed in torture chambers and in the streets; bomb explosions were triggered off

¹ *US News & World Report*, November 21, 1977, p. 37.

in the houses of professional people. Gangs of paid cutthroats fell upon well-known dissenters and beat them almost to death. It was later disclosed that the CIA trained SAVAK agents at the so-called International Police Academy in Washington, where among other things they were given a course on "methods of intensive interrogation". The man in charge of such affairs in Teheran was the US Ambassador to Iran, Richard M. Helms, former CIA director. Men in the pay of the CIA are still active in Iran today. In 1981 they threw a grenade at a May Day gathering in Teheran.

On the territory of Afghanistan acts of terrorism are being committed by the so-called Islamic Alliance headed by conspirator Burhanuddin Rabbani. The organisation has its headquarters in the Pakistani city Peshawar, its main patron is to be found in one of the Washington offices of the CIA.

In Turkey, CIA operations in the 1970s were conducted mostly by the Grey Wolves, a fascist organisation whose victims towards 1980 had reached 2,500 people. CIA instruction to the organisation pointed to the necessity of taking steps to make the public believe that the acts of violence were being committed by revolutionaries. In so doing, the directive said, the operators must not stop short of cruelty and murder.

In Israel the state intelligence service Mossad has been acting as a CIA sub-agency. For many years Angola has been harassed by the US-financed UNITA band. In Mauritania a plot to assassinate Muhamad Ould Haidalla, head of the ruling Military Committee for National Salvation, was uncovered in March 1981. In June the same year

Zambian security men frustrated a plot to assassinate President Kenneth Kaunda, the army commander, the chief of police and several senior security officers. The plot was masterminded by the South African secret service, which is linked with the CIA. In the Arab East there is liaison between the CIA and the terrorist Muslim Brotherhood which made several attempts on the life of President Nasser. The CIA is working against Cuba through the intermediary of counter-revolutionary emigrants. Its latest plot to assassinate Fidel Castro was uncovered in March 1981.

When in March 1981 press reports told of the conspiracy of the Portuguese neo-fascist terrorist organisations AOP and DDOP to stage a putsch, two facts emerged: first, the terrorists were financed by big businessmen in Portugal, second, the CIA was indirectly involved in the plot. The US Ambassador to Portugal, Frank C. Carlucci, was at one time Deputy Director of the CIA, and in 1981 became US Under-Secretary for Defence. The same hand at work again.

In July 1981 the Italian press published documents found by the police during the arrest of the daughter of Licio Gelli, head of the P-2 Masonic lodge—a secret pro-fascist organisation exposed before the arrest. The documents had been drawn up by high-ranking officers of US secret services as "instructions" to their agents in West European countries. Document FM 30-31, drawn up by General William Westmoreland, former US Army Chief of Staff, said that terrorist movements in Western countries should be used in the interests of the United States. The purpose: if necessary,

to create political instability in the country concerned and even provoke civil war.

Among measures by which American agents could "regulate" the situation in a particular country were: the formation of paramilitary subversive groups, the participation of armed provocateurs in engineering riots and clashes with the police, actions to discredit the judicial authorities and the police, infiltration into state institutions, the organisation of explosions, the murder of policemen, and so on.

To what purpose? To "convince the government and public opinion in a friendly country of the danger of Communism"¹. This is the familiar CIA style of work, which fully coincides with the practice of neo-fascist terrorism.

In the business vocabulary in the West there is the expression "holding company". This is a joint-stock company actually holding the shares of and controlling other concerns without itself taking any part in their business transactions. The CIA is a kind of terrorist "holding company", controlling militant branch organisations in various countries. So Washington's James Bonds are no fantasy; but unlike Ian Fleming's protagonist, they make other people work for them. They strike deals with neo-fascists, Left extremists and with "liberal" government institutions—they do not worry about the political flags of their wards. State imperialist terrorism uses all those three categories.

Another feature of the CIA: it does not indulge in unsystematic terror, as the Right and Left ex-

tremists do, but directs its terror against a definite target and against particular people who are not to the liking of US imperialism. This is also a feature of state terrorism which, in this respect, is more efficient than its other brands.

Needless to say, it is not the CIA alone that has an interest in fostering international terrorism. Before the First World War the leader in such matters was the British imperialist Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), whose roots can be traced back to Sir Francis Walsingham, a favourite of Queen Elizabeth I.

The SIS likewise had absolutely no scruples about conducting terrorist operations on the territory of other nations whenever this was deemed "necessary" for the British government; but in the past it preferred to operate directly, using its own worldwide secret-service network. Today the figure of James Bond is unreal because author Ian Fleming (a former employee of British Intelligence) portrays him as a murderer acting alone, instead of showing him as a contemporary secret-service expert giving instructions to local men in his pay.

But the SIS never conducted such large-scale terrorist operations as does the CIA; it never had such enormous financial resources and such an international army of agents and sub-agents. There is ample proof that after the Second World War the British imperialists, realising their inability to compete with the CIA, ceded primacy in matters of state terrorism to the CIA, and even to some extent came under US protection. A top-secret agreement to this effect may have been concluded. But so far as Northern Ireland, for example, is

¹ *Panorama*, Rome, July 22, 1981.

concerned, the British ruling circles are still engaging in state terrorism in their own interests.

For fourteen years on end the London government has been waging relentless war against the Catholic population of that province, which was forcefully annexed by England and is demanding reunification with the Republic of Ireland. More than 2,000 people have been killed in clashes in Northern Ireland, and more than 20,000 wounded. A regime of terror has been introduced in working-class areas in Belfast and Derry. In August 1981 the tenth hunger striker died at the concentration camp outside Belfast. The Catholic population of Northern Ireland is retaliating to the terror with mass demonstrations; the young people are constantly putting up barricades. Both Britain and the neighbouring Irish Republic are in a state of agitation. Despite everything, British police terrorism continues.

The CIA once had two other serious rivals—the nazi Gestapo (plus the Wehrmacht intelligence service) and Japanese intelligence. But they had to yield to the state terrorists from across the ocean. At present the West German and Japanese secret services clearly operate under US patronage. The CIA remains the headquarters of the transnational terrorist system.

2.

What are nearly all the CIA operations directed at in our day? There can be no doubt about the answer: they are directed against Communism,

against the community of socialist states and against the national liberation movement.

Every CIA operation is, in one way or another, linked and coordinated with this principal aim, wherever it is conducted and no matter what sham secret services camouflage it. As reported in April 1981 by Ralph McGee, who served in the CIA for more than 20 years, the agency has a special department dealing with "international Communism".¹ All the rest are merely subsidiary operations.

When a Congressional committee asked William Colby, former CIA Director and later US Ambassador to Saigon, about his activities, he replied that since the end of the Second World War the CIA had done nothing but help various forces repulse the "Communist threat".

In reality, as shown by the latest studies, the first actions of the US secret services (the predecessors of the CIA) against the Communist movement were planned long before the October Revolution of 1917 and were directed personally against Lenin.

In his book about American intelligence and counter-intelligence US writer T. Johnson relates that soon after the 1917 February revolution in Russia the US secret service agents operating in Europe contemplated a series of assassinations of Bolshevik leaders who were then still in exile, including Lenin. Johnson believes that if this operation had been carried out there would have been no Soviet republic and no "Red danger".

¹ See *The Nation* April 11, 1981, p. 423.

This report was confirmed by none other than Allen Dulles, former Director and zealous inspirer of the CIA. In his memoirs published in the *Saturday Evening Post* Dulles wrote frankly that his Washington bosses advised him (he was stationed in Switzerland at the time) to pay attention to the "Russian emigrant Ilyin" (Lenin's pen-name), who held radical views. For what purpose? To see if it were possible to remove him from the political scene. Dulles ignored the advice, a matter which he says he regretted all his life.

After that the CIA tried to avoid such "mistakes" when taking aim with its terrorist "artillery". Let us recall what another former CIA Director, William Colby, said about the tens of millions of dollars he spent in Italy. Wherever a Communist organisation existed, he said, the US financed or set up an anti-Communist one. In other words, Colby confirmed what we have been saying: the CIA does not care about the official "principles" held by its dummy agencies in various countries, be they Rightist or pseudo-Leftist. What matters is to practise bloody anti-Communism. No wonder phrases like "Death to Communists!" figure in nearly all the publications of pro-Washington organisations in Latin America. In Turkey cutthroats from the CIA-financed Grey Wolves terrorist organisation used to be sent to kill people under the slogan of "combating Communism".

It is not fortuitous that, during the investigation of the CIA-arranged assassination of Chilean progressive leader, Orlando Letelier, General Vernon Walters, one of the CIA's top men, said

without embarrassment that Letelier was a Communist and deserved to be killed.

So there is no need to argue about the nature of the CIA even with its personnel and "ideologists". They make no secret of the purposes of the CIA, though they keep secret their operations. Springing, like Right and "Left" terrorism, from the historical crisis of capitalist society, the state terrorism of the United States is inseparable from the anti-Communist strategy of present-day imperialism. The CIA is no chance group of conspirators and assassins who may vanish from the scene tomorrow, as do gangs of Right and "Left" terrorists; it is a component part of the capitalist state machinery.

But this does not absolve of their criminal responsibility those who create such institutions.

Another thing we know for sure: the efforts of the CIA and like-minded forces are in vain. Communism cannot be killed by fascist, ultra-Left or state imperialist terrorism.

Lenin Answers

1.

Let us now look at those *honest* Left extremists in the West who regard the question of terrorism as to some degree a personal matter and who sincerely believe that small restricted groups or parties not relying on mass support can, by resorting to acts of violence at critical moments, actually "speed up revolution". It may be that such a question also arises before some thoroughly well-meaning Communists in the capitalist world.

To answer the people the author only needs to cite what Lenin, a highly professional revolutionary, said on this issue. In his *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, he gave today's Left extremists a lesson that shatters their usual arguments.

Although those statements were made back in the 1920s, they retain their full significance to this day for whatever "brand new" arguments today's ultra-Leftists may concoct, they are the direct successors of the ultra-Leftists of the 1920s. They too disregard the mass of the people for the sake of their small secret organisations; they too rebel without taking the alignment of class forces into account; they too do not understand—or do not

wish to understand—the realities of the day. When reading *"Left-Wing" Communism*, one gets the impression that Lenin is talking with members of the Red Brigades or the Baader-Meinhof Group, showing them how revolution can and cannot be "speeded up". In some places he seems to hear their objections and counter them.

This brief chapter, containing quotations from Lenin, will be of interest to the reader who wants to know more about *Marxist-Leninist strategy*. The author believes that questions of strategy continue to play a most important role in contemporary history.

"In Russia..." Lenin wrote in 1920, "lengthy, painful and sanguinary experience has taught us the truth that revolutionary tactics cannot be built on a revolutionary mood alone. Tactics must be based on a sober and strictly objective appraisal of *all* the class forces in a particular state (and of the states that surround it, and of all states the world over) as well as of the experience of revolutionary movements. It is very easy to show one's 'revolutionary' temper merely by hurling abuse at parliamentary opportunism, or merely by repudiating participation in parliaments; its very ease, however, cannot turn this into a solution of a difficult, a very difficult, problem."¹

The Left extremists of the 1980s say that in seeking to bring the revolution nearer they pin their hopes on a militant vanguard ready for anything, with the help of which it will be possible, as it were, to skip long stages of the advancement to the goal. They are impatient.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 63-64.

Lenin characterising such impatience said that in the nineteenth century, in 1874, the Left extremists of those days, the so-called Blanquists, wrote in their "Manifesto", in which they counted on conspiracy by a small secret revolutionary organisation: "We are Communists because we want to attain our goal without stopping at intermediate stages, without any compromises, which only postpone the day of victory and prolong the period of slavery."¹

Riding on without stopping, leaping over all obstacles regardless of the objective conditions! A bold vanguard itself makes everything revolve! These words seem to have come not from a Blanquist a hundred years ago, but from a member of today's Red Brigades.

Lenin replies to the Blanquists: "Victory cannot be won with a vanguard alone. To throw only the vanguard into the decisive battle, before the entire class, the broad masses, have taken up a position either of direct support for the vanguard, or at least of sympathetic neutrality towards it and of precluded support for the enemy, would be not merely foolish but criminal."²

Is not this precisely the crime being committed by the Left extremists of today, whose actions only lead to fruitless squandering of the strength of the revolutionary vanguard?

The immediate aim, Lenin continues, "... which consists in being able to lead the *masses* to a new position ensuring the victory of the vanguard in the

revolution, cannot be reached without the liquidation of Left doctrinairism, and without a full elimination of its errors."¹

This is addressed to the same quarter without reservation. Elsewhere Lenin repeats:

"It is folly, not revolutionism, to deprive ourselves in advance of any freedom of action, openly to inform an enemy who is at present better armed than we are whether we shall fight him, and when. To accept battle at a time when it is obviously advantageous to the enemy, but not to us, is criminal."²

What, then is the sign of true revolutionary spirit?

"It is far more difficult," Lenin says, "—and far more precious—to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle *do not yet exist*, to be able to champion the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organisation) in non-revolutionary bodies, and quite often in downright reactionary bodies, in a non-revolutionary situation, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action."³

Perhaps Renato Curcio, the present leader of the Red Brigades and a former neo-fascist, would brush these words aside. But the truth of the words is as plain as a pikestaff, whether he likes it or not. To bring about a revolution and to play at revolution are two absolutely different things.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

Explaining what is actually involved, Lenin finally exposes the social and political nature of Left extremism:

"Bolshevism took shape, developed and became steeled in the long years of struggle against *petty-bourgeois revolutionism*, which smacks of anarchism, or borrows something from the latter and, in all essential matters, does not measure up to the conditions and requirements of a consistently proletarian class struggle...

"A petty bourgeois driven to frenzy by the horrors of capitalism is a social phenomenon which, like anarchism, is characteristic of all capitalist countries. The instability of such revolutionism, its barrenness, and its tendency to turn rapidly into submission, apathy, phantasms, and even a frenzied infatuation with one bourgeois fad or another—all this is common knowledge. However, a theoretical or abstract recognition of these truths does not at all rid revolutionary parties of old errors, which always crop up at unexpected occasions, in somewhat new forms, in a hitherto unfamiliar garb or surroundings, in an unusual—a more or less unusual—situation.

"Anarchism was not infrequently a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement. The two monstrosities complemented each other."¹

"A petty bourgeois driven to frenzy by the horrors of capitalism"—this, according to Lenin, is the man who creates ultra-Left terrorist organisations. This has always been—and still is—the case.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 32.

Lenin's definition is topical and accurate. We emphasise again: in 1982 it is no less topical than it was in 1920. The essence of the issue is the same, so are its roots.

Lenin wrote "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* in April 1920 for the occasion of the opening of the Second Congress of the Communist International, held in July-August 1920, and copies of the book were presented to all the delegates. Lenin knew he was in for a battle with the Left extremists of those days, who, while not supporting terrorism, nevertheless called for a kind of sectarian isolation of Communist parties from the people at large. Lenin won the battle.

It is no exaggeration to say that those who today cloak their ultra-Left ideas with Lenin's name (this is precisely what a number of parties and groups of this trend in the West are doing, adding "Marxist-Leninist" to their names) are committing downright political forgery.

2.

The reader may ask: What was Lenin's attitude to the problem of terrorism as such?

Let us note first of all that the problem of terrorism cannot be divorced from the issue of mass or non-mass revolutionary organisations—the issue on which we have already learnt Lenin's opinion. It is obvious that mass revolutionary organisations have no need to terrorise individuals, because this does them considerable harm. Lenin also expressed his views on the specific question of acts of terrorism against individuals: he was resolutely against it.

Because of his firm stand against terrorism, long before the October Revolution in tsarist Russia, he had to wage many a fierce battle against the Socialist Revolutionary Party (SRs)—a petty-bourgeois party that pinned its main hopes on endless acts of terrorism. The SRs hated Lenin in those days, just as the Left extremists hate the Communists today. This similarity is a logical, rather than an accidental one.¹

At the beginning of this century tsarist Russia was in a state of unrest. It was hit by a grave economic crisis which coincided with a bad harvest and famine in a number of regions. There were workers' strikes, peasant disturbances and turbulent student demonstrations. Social-Democratic organisations existed in many cities but were still not linked with each other. The Socialist Revolutionaries, however, were ready to found a party. The first point in their programme was conducting terror against individuals. What were the Social-Democrats to do?

In May 1901 Lenin wrote an article entitled

¹ In this respect it is noteworthy that the biography of Boris Savinkov, who for some time was head of an SR terrorist organisation, in some places reads like the biography of one of the present ringleaders of Italy's Red Brigades or Front Line. Having likewise begun by participating in the student movement, Savinkov became the head of a militant SR organisation, which had previously been headed by Azef, a police spy. Savinkov organised the assassination of Grand Duke Sergei Romanov, who was the tsar's relative and Governor General of Moscow. He was notorious for a number of other acts of violence. Finally he was arrested, but before execution managed to escape abroad, where he became a "repentant terrorist". On returning to Russia in 1917 Savinkov became a favourite of Kerensky and a year later was involved in attempts to assassinate Lenin.

"Where to Begin", which says on the subject of terror against individuals:

"We... declare emphatically that under the present conditions such a means of struggle is inopportune and unsuitable; that it diverts the most active fighters from their real task, the task which is most important from the standpoint of the interests of the movement as a whole; and that it disorganises the forces, not of the government, but of the revolution... Is there not the danger of rupturing the contact between the revolutionary organisations and the disunited masses of the discontented, the protesting, and the disposed to struggle, who are weak precisely because they are disunited? Yet it is this contact that is the sole guarantee of our success... it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror, against taking it to be the chief and basic means of struggle, as so many people strongly incline to do at present."¹

Russia in late 1901 and early 1902: Revolutionary actions by workers and peasants were becoming more and more frequent; the atmosphere was becoming tense; people were beginning to realise that the country was on the eve of great upheavals. Lenin produced his book *What Is to Be Done?* and once again touching upon the question of terrorism emphasised: "...The idea of substituting excitative terrorism for political agitation drags us back politically."²

Several months later he stated:

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, p. 461.

"The Socialist-Revolutionaries, by including terrorism in their programme and advocating it in its present-day form as a means of political struggle, are thereby doing the most serious harm to the movement, destroying the indissoluble ties between socialist work and the mass of the revolutionary class. No verbal assurances and vows can disprove the unquestionable fact that present-day terrorism, as practised and advocated by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, is *not connected in any way* with work among the masses, for the masses, or together with the masses; that the organisation of terroristic acts by the Party distracts our very scanty organisational forces from their difficult and by no means completed task of organising a revolutionary workers' party; that *in practice* the terrorism of the Socialist-Revolutionaries is nothing else than *single combat*, a method that has been wholly condemned by the experience of history."¹

In May 1902 the SRs became reckless. They committed their first major act of terrorism: they murdered the tsar's Minister of Home Affairs Sipyagin, the initiator of savage punitive measures against the workers, peasants and students. In an article entitled "Revolutionary Adventurism" Lenin wrote:

"Everyone knows and sees perfectly well that this act was in no way connected with the masses... that the persons who committed this terrorist act neither counted on nor hoped for any definite action or support on the part of the masses. In their naïveté, the Socialist-Revolutionaries do not realise that their predilection for terrorism

is causally most intimately linked with the fact that, from the very outset, they have always kept, and still keep, aloof from the working-class movement."¹ Lenin concluded with these words: "The urge to commit terrorist acts is a passing mood."²

Can one say that the murder of former Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro, committed in May 1978 by Left extremists, won the support of the masses?

Don't these lines remind one of the Red Brigades in present-day Italy?

Lenin said that terrorism dragged the revolutionary forces back. What pushes them forward? In late 1902 a strike with the participation of a multitude of workers broke out at the major south Russian port of Rostov-on-Don. Lenin wrote:

"We believe that even a hundred regicides can never produce so stimulating and educational an effect as this participation of tens of thousands of working people in meetings where their vital interests and the links between politics and these interests are discussed... We are convinced that to *sacrifice* one revolutionary, even in exchange for ten scoundrels, means only disorganising our ranks."³

A little later Lenin wrote that the Socialist-Revolutionaries follow "a trend which is very revolutionary in words, but not in the least revolutionary as far as its real views and contacts with the revolutionary class are concerned."⁴

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 187.

² *Ibid.*, p. 194.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 173.

The Bolshevik Party took final shape in the summer of 1903 at the 2nd RSDLP Congress held in Brussels and London. Even then Lenin did not forget the problem of individual terrorism. The special resolution he prepared on this subject for the congress said:

"The congress resolutely rejects terrorism, i.e., the system of isolated political assassinations as a means of political struggle, which is in the highest degree inexpedient at the present time, which diverts the finest forces from the vital and urgently necessary organisational and agitation work, which destroys the ties of the revolutionaries with the mass of the revolutionary classes of the population, which engenders even among the revolutionaries themselves and among the population in general totally wrong impressions about the tasks and methods of struggle with the autocracy."¹

This document, written by Lenin 78 years ago, holds good for the whole of the world Communist movement today. Have the leaders of contemporary Left extremism read it, and other pronouncements by Lenin on terrorism for that matter?

Lenin always held firmly to this view. When in July 1904 the Socialist-Revolutionaries murdered Plehve, the frenzied Black Hundreder who replaced Sipyagin as the tsar's Minister of Home Affairs and chief of the gendarmerie, Lenin noted once again in an article entitled "The Autocracy and the Proletariat":

"The assassination of Plehve evidently cost the

¹ *Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party*, July-August 1903, Minutes, Moscow, 1959, p. 453.

terrorist organisation tremendous effort and involved long preparation. The very success of this terrorist act bears out all the more strikingly the experience of the entire history of the Russian revolutionary movement, which warns us against such methods of struggle as terrorism. Russian terrorism has always been a specifically intellectualist method of struggle... The facts irrefutably testify that in our country individual political assassinations have nothing in common with the forcible actions of the people's revolution."¹

He was against individual terrorism, but not against mass revolutionary action if the time was ripe for it. When a real people's revolution broke out in Russia in 1905, Lenin wrote an article, "Tasks of the Revolutionary Army Contingents", in which he described in detail the tactics of military operations and showed how to guide the masses, how to be armed, how to attack the police and seize weapons, how to save the arrested or wounded, how to fight tsarist troops from the top floors of buildings, and so on.²

Nor did the Bolsheviks resort to terrorism in the course of the October Revolution of 1917, when power passed into their hands. It was not until the following year, when the counter-revolutionaries headed by Socialist-Revolutionaries embarked on a campaign of terror and plotted the assassination of Lenin, that the Soviet government retaliated with severe counter-measures. There was no other way of defending the revolution.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 8, p. 22.

² See V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, pp. 420-21.

As the reader can see, this chapter is devoted to some quotations from Lenin (far from all that he said on this particular subject has been quoted). I have only tried to present them to the reader in a systematic way. Lenin died almost 60 years ago, but he remains a brilliant strategist of the revolutionary working-class movement. The answers which today's ultra-Left extremists and other terrorists can find in his works are exhaustive enough, no matter how much experience history adds to our life.

The founder of the world's first socialist state convinces us of the profound error made by those people (mostly students and other young people) who join Left-extremist organisations owing to their honest desire to "speed up the revolution". In reality they are not bringing the revolution closer but—without being aware of it—helping its enemies. This is true of many thousands of young people in many countries.

True, they are having a hard time. Distrust in the working class, narrow-minded sectarianism instead of patient work among the masses, lack of understanding of the real alignment of forces, and then the plunge into terrorism—all these make their efforts senseless: they are fighting a losing battle although many of them are willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the revolution.

Would it not be better to stop and think it over seriously?

The Doomed

1.

Let us now sum up our modest study.

During the months that have passed since I began work on this book terrorism has not left the world scene. It is raging as before in capitalist countries, creating an atmosphere of tension. Neither Right nor ultra-Left terrorist organisations, much less the agents of American imperialism, have become less active and less inhuman.

The neo-fascists continue to engage in pogroms, they provoke street excesses and attack anti-fascists with knives and machine-guns. The Black International continues to mobilise the forces of military-dictatorial fascism on various continents. Left extremists, especially in Italy and other Latin countries, are still indulging in political assassinations and kidnapping. The sinister doctrine of "urban guerrilla warfare", which is a camouflage for terrorism and among pseudo-Leftists a substitute for Lenin's strategy of socialist revolution, is being preached among young people with the same maniacal persistence. The CIA continues to organise assassinations through other organisations and stooges.

On May 13, 1981, a Turkish fascist, Mehmet Ali Agca, in broad daylight fired three shots at Pope John Paul II in Rome and wounded him. The police established that Agca had not been acting alone. One asks why this time was the target of the assassination bid such an exceptional personality as the head of the world Catholic Church, and why was the assassin a Turk who has no connection with Italy or religious matters?

It is not difficult to answer the question. The intention of the organisers of the assassination bid was to make the atmosphere in the capitalist world as tense as possible, to increase panic among the population. The assassination of the leader of 700 million Catholics was intended to cause the greatest degree of anxiety among these masses, to pour oil on the fires of daily confusion, to help the "custodians of the law", "the generals on white horses", to come to power—and not only in Catholic countries.

It is perfectly clear that the attempt on the life of the head of the Vatican was made with this aim in view not by Turkish or Italian terrorists but by the *international* centre of neo-fascist terrorists. It comes as no surprise that the assassin Agca, as has now become known, had already been convicted for acts of terrorism in Turkey and had established himself in West Germany after escaping from the Istanbul prison, maintaining contact with dubious West German circles as well as with Italian neo-fascists. It transpired that large bank accounts in hard currency had been opened in his name in West Germany and Switzerland, and he had been provided with "faultless" documents. The request

made by the Turkish authorities to the West German government for extradition of the criminal remained unanswered. The international GHQ of the ultra-Right terrorists evidently works according to plan.

Almost simultaneously another act of terrorism took place on another continent. On May 29, 1981, President Ziaur Rahman of the Republic of Bangladesh, which neighbours on India, was assassinated by conspirators from the entourage of Major-General Ahmed Manzur. Here in the heart of Asia the reasons for the murder were local but they had an international tinge too. Major-General Manzur was notorious for his ties with Chinese agents, particularly with the pro-Maoist organisation "Purba bangla samyabadi dal", and possibly with the CIA at the same time.

There is other confirmation of the assumption that Peking has itself begun to engage in terrorism. According to the influential *Washington Post*, citing a secret CIA report, China plans coups d'état in African countries that maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. The carrying out of the coups is assigned to specially trained terrorist groups.¹

Have Chinese intelligence and the CIA concluded a "working agreement" like that between Peking's army headquarters and the Pentagon? One must note the fact that the current Vice-President of the United States, George Bush, was at one time head of the CIA and later on was US ambassador to Peking.

¹ See *The Washington Post*, May 10, 1981.

The contacts of "Left" terrorists are expanding. It has been observed of late that such persons are infiltrating seemingly "democratic" or "liberal" organisations which have no little influence among ruling circles. A scandal blew up in Rome in May 1981: the secret "P-2" Masonic Lodge was exposed, revealing that among its members were leading personalities of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, well-known Socialists, Social-Democrats and Liberals. The "P-2" Lodge was represented at all levels of government and public bodies—in the government (three ministers), in the Italian Parliament, army and intelligence service, the judiciary, the Church, in the industrial and financial world, and in the press.

Outright fascists were also members of the Lodge. Its founder, Licio Gelli, belonged to Mussolini's party and during the war fought on the Eastern front against the USSR. A former Mason, Socialist E. Benedetti, said in a newspaper interview that in 1972 Gelli had complained about "lack of initiative shown by the military in introducing proper order in the country", that is to say, he called for the establishment of a military dictatorship in Italy. Benedetti added that "P-2" was "larded" with fascists. This, by the way, did not prevent F. Cichito, a leading member of the Italian Socialist Party, from participating in the Lodge; there he would confer with secret agents of the Mafia. It also became known that "P-2" was involved in the sensational explosion of the "Italicus" passenger express in August 1974 and in the assassination of the Prosecutor-General of Rome, V. Occorsio in 1976.

The Masons were once a liberal bourgeois organisation fighting against the king, the feudal church and despotic dignitaries; they even participated in some bourgeois revolutions. In the past the Masons numbered among their members such prominent figures in world culture as Voltaire, Diderot, Benjamin Franklin, Goethe, Lessing, Mozart, such revolutionary politicians as Robespierre, Jean Marat, the Russian Decembrist Pestel, Garibaldi, Giuseppe Mazzini, and many others. Today the plague of fascist terrorism has penetrated the Masonic movement.

As for the anti-Communist "ideologists", they continue to lay all the blame for "international terrorism" on the USSR. In the spring of 1981, for instance, a book by a certain Claire Sterling about international terrorism was published in large editions simultaneously in many countries—the United States, France, West Germany, Britain, Italy, Holland, Australia, Mexico and Spain. The author is described as a "prominent expert on terrorism" though no mention of the CIA is made. Whole chapters (sixteen in all) were published in major US periodicals.

The Washington Post emphasised that the book would influence US policy. In its view the book would give fresh impetus to the Administration's accusations that Moscow was responsible for the disturbances in the world—accusations which had of late been falling flat. In Washington, the paper added, there were three categories of people today: those who have always believed the Soviet Union was responsible for terrorism; those who want to believe it; and those who have to pretend to believe

it in order to retain their influence in the government.

The book contains no specific documentary facts. All its arguments are based on claims made by unnamed persons, on rumour or sheer fiction. At the same time in the 309 pages of the book there is no mention of the acts of terrorism which the whole world has recently heard about. This book is an example of how the CIA and its collaborators react to worldwide discussion of terrorism. To raise a clamour over what does not exist and to keep silent about what does exist—that is the CIA's main recipe.

The general public continue to regard terrorists of all hues with horror and disgust. One cannot, however, deny that in the 1980s terrorism has really managed to inject political poison and propensity for foolhardy adventurism into the minds of a certain section of the youth. The aim of the neo-fascists and ultra-Leftists in attracting the youth is to detach them from the working-class movement and from the progressive forces fighting for peace and democracy.

As has already been noted, among the Left extremists there are honest and conscientious people, mostly not more than 18-25 years of age, who despair of ever finding a place for themselves in bourgeois society; they are confused and fail to realise what is happening. Such youngsters are often willing to sacrifice themselves; the jails in Italy and other countries are crowded with them. But it is not they who are the policy-makers in the Red Brigades in Italy or the Red Army Faction in West Germany; they are only being used.

The reins remain in the hands of adventurers and fanatics who are playing a double game and throwing dust into the eyes of their subordinates by their overzealous "revolutionism".

However, despite all their efforts, the Left extremists are making no progress. Their leaders can order them to kill and rob; they can weave romantic legends around themselves. But they are incapable of speeding up the revolutionary process even by a single day.

On the contrary, their actions are delaying the development of that process because they intimidate people. Meanwhile the police authorities in the capitalist countries hasten to work out new "techniques" of suppressing the masses and invent new weapons for street battles.

How, then, to counter terrorism from both Right and "Left?" The reader will naturally be interested in this question most of all. Terrorism should not be regarded as inevitable or normal in our age. To combat it we must consider the three forces at whose expense it has been growing in our time: the youth, the lumpen-proletariat and, needless to say, imperialism.

It would be wrong to believe that the progressive forces can or must win over the lumpen-proletariat. The latter is by its very nature a negative force. The lumpen-proletariat will not live for ever; it will wither away in Communist society. But so long as capitalist society exists, it will live and grow in it, and continue to view the working-class movement with rabid hostility.

It is equally pointless to believe that the CIA will some day, even in a period of comparatively

peaceful coexistence, stop its global intrigues. This mighty spy and terrorist organisation will never leave the international scene of its own accord. That is why it is becoming increasingly clear that the key to solving the problem lies with the working class and the youth themselves.

If the genuine Left-wing forces, above all the Communists, succeed in ridding the confused and wavering youth of the influence of Right and pseudo-Left extremists, there can hardly be any doubt that an end will be put to the growth of terrorism. Probably most of the existing terrorist groups will in that case fall apart.

In this connection the progressive forces face a tremendous and extremely difficult task. I shall deal briefly with this.

2.

Addressing the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, two years after Hitler's advent to power in Germany, Georgi Dimitrov spoke about the offensive of fascism and the tasks of the Communist International in the fight for unity of the working class.

"In speaking of the youth," he said, "we must state frankly that we have neglected our task of drawing the masses of the working youth into the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of war... We have underestimated the enormous importance of the youth in the fight against fascism. We have not always taken into account the special economic, political

and cultural interests of the youth. We have likewise not paid proper attention to the revolutionary education of the youth.

"All this has been utilised very cleverly by fascism, which in some countries, particularly in Germany, has inveigled large sections of the youth onto the anti-proletarian road."¹

This is what Dimitrov said 46 years ago. Can we say that the mistakes of the past have been fully rectified?

Dealing with "our weakness not so much on the organisational as on the ideological and political levels" and having in mind the Left-extremist and not the Right-extremist threat, D. Amendola, a leading member of the Italian Communist Party, wrote in *L'Unità*:

"The point is that the whole of our Left flank has for a long time remained vulnerable... Recently the necessity to combat the Left Centre (the coalition of the ruling Christian-Democrats with the Socialists, Social-Democrats and Republicans. —E.H.) has compelled us to fix our eyes on the Right, while on the international scene the offensive conducted by extremists and anarchists against the Communist parties was being increasingly felt."

Analysing the stormy student disturbances that swept Paris in 1968, a plenum of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party commented in July that year: "Although the Party had considerable influence in student circles, it proved to

¹ Georgi Dimitrov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Sofia Press, 1972, p. 58.

be inadequate, and this had a negative effect when ultra-Left groups became active among the students, playing into the hands of the Right-wing forces."

In May 1976 the Presidium of the Board of the German Communist Party vehemently condemned the intrigues of anarchist and Maoist groups operating in the Federal Republic and called on those who had fallen under the influence of their propaganda to reconsider their stand and break with adventurism.

This is how the leaders of Communist parties in the capitalist world are commenting *today* on the shortcomings and difficulties of work with the youth. Lenin made a deeper analysis of this issue 65 years ago (before the October Revolution!). In a short article published in December 1916 in the collection *The Social Democrat*, he announced publication of the first six issues of *The Youth International* and, recommending the journal, wrote:

"Of course, the youth *still* lacks theoretical clarity and consistency. Perhaps it may never acquire them, precisely because it is the organ of seething, turbulent, inquiring youth. However, our attitude towards the lack of theoretical clarity on the part of *such* people must be entirely different from what our attitude is and should be towards the theoretical muddle in the heads, and the lack of revolutionary consistency in the hearts of our 'O.C.-ists', 'Socialist-Revolutionaries', Tolstoyans, anarchists, the European Kautskyites ('Centre'), etc... The middle-aged and the aged often *do not know* how to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism in a dif-

ferent way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers."¹

While advocating "complete freedom of comradely criticism" of the errors of youth leagues, Lenin emphasised: "We must not flatter the youth."² He ended the article with the words: "We repeat, these errors must be refuted and explained. At the same time we must make every effort to find points of contact and closer relations with youth organisations and help them in every way, but we must find the *proper* manner of approach to them."³

Though written two-thirds of a century ago, Lenin's recommendation is relevant to our times. It is precisely this approach that is needed in the 1980s in the struggle to win the minds and hearts of the youth who are the target of the neo-fascists, ultra-Leftists and pro-Maoists.

As Lenin advised, we should not flatter the youth. But we must once and for all stop underestimating the revolutionary moods and powers of the youth. We must learn to speak with them in their own language instead of feeding them theoretical abstractions, and without hesitation, whenever necessary, to talk in an affectionate tone with them. We must grasp the situation quickly when the vital interests of the youth are affected, and not come out with statements and explanations when the fire has already burned out. One must work out a comprehensive *practical* programme with clear and concise slogans. Finally, one must wherever possible put forward people who are gift-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 164.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

ed and responsive to the situation, and not persons with purely theoretical knowledge.

This is not so easy to do. I remember the situation in the old Germany when the nazis, preparing to seize power, were recruiting young people of petty-bourgeois as well as working-class stock. Crude nationalist propaganda was being conducted at every street corner, driving audiences to a frenzy. Chauvinism blinded millions of Philistines and immature young people, acting on them like dope, while the anti-fascists of those days often failed to find the correct arguments and proper approach when addressing misguided people.

Purely theoretical and abstract arguments, however sound, did not get across to the bulk of the audience. What was required was psychological skill and not just scientific theory. What was happening was not an academic discussion but a battle for the hearts of people.

Hitler, Goebbels, Goering and "Jugendführer" Baldur von Schirach knew how to play on the emotions of the crowd. As was subsequently confirmed, lack of political and psychological preparedness cost the anti-fascists very dear. It proved to be far more difficult to fight against the fascists than against former bourgeois opponents or the Right-wing Social-Democrats.

It is true that even today young people in the West often succumb too easily to the influence of the extremists. But it is also true that in many cases today part of the blame for this lies on older men who do not adequately take account of the moods and thoughts of the youth, and so sooner or later lose live contact with them.

Some adults alienate themselves from young people by identifying the present generation of young people with the generation to which they themselves belonged decades ago, and sometimes by indulging in ironical remarks about the youth. The elder generation must not only speak with the youth in their own language; they should not be afraid of young people's questions and not lose patience when the latter go on arguing along wrong lines.

Progressive people must reckon with, and not be disappointed by, the fact that there are many new and even unexpected elements in the nature and aspirations of the youth in the second half of our century. Only if they realise this fact will the anti-fascists in capitalist countries be able to paralyse the sinister influence of the Right and Left extremists. Methods which were appropriate yesterday may not be so today, much less tomorrow.

If we work with the youth with all this in view, will it not be possible really to win for socialism all those very many young men and women who have blindly drifted into the enemy camp or who do not know yet where to turn?

I do believe that such a possibility exists. It is of exceptional importance for the world revolutionary process that this possibility be realised.

3.

There is a specific reason why history favours the genuine Left-wing forces in the struggle for the youth. There is a circumstance, ultimately the decisive one, which is conducive to their victory.

The youth has a greater vested interest than any other section of the world population in the peaceful course of events, in international security. Security is a vital factor for youth throughout their lifetime. This applies to every young person, wherever he lives, whatever his ambitions and beliefs. The problem of peace faces and will always face all young people.

As everyone can see, events are unfolding in such a way that the next few decades will be either particularly favourable or particularly dangerous for the young generation. This is not a paradox, it is the logic of our time.

The world has reached an important crossroads. To go to the Right would inevitably entail an unprecedented global catastrophe in which young people would perish in the very prime of life. To turn Left, towards peace and social progress, towards détente and disarmament, means opening up before the young generation boundless opportunities such as they could not even dare dream about before. A world without war, a world concentrating all its efforts on the all-round development of science and technology, economy and culture, a world that has no unemployment and is conquering space—such a world can become a reality in our time.

It is for such a world that the Left-wing forces are striving with all their might. If they are *skilful* this will assure them of a tremendous advantage over the Right and Left extremists, who are virtually calling for a nuclear catastrophe.

This is the most important thing. It is from this standpoint that explanatory work must be conducted among the youth. Explanation of the direct link

between the domestic problems of the youth and the peaceable foreign policy of socialism can cut the ground from under the feet of the extremists. Only the most obtuse, backward and corrupted elements among the youth can remain indifferent to the historic dilemma confronting them.

But, I repeat, we must speak to the youth in a language that *they* can understand, and not hurl general formulas and trite phrases at them. Discussions must be conducted with them not by any functionary, but by specially trained persons who understand their mentality.

It may be that, if this work succeeds, many honest young people, misled by ultra-Left organisations, will reconsider their position. Extremists who have recognised their errors must be helped to be re-educated; practical assistance must be given them so they can take an active part in the working-class movement and not in senseless riots.

As for the neo-fascists, there must be no leniency towards them; they are a deadly enemy. On the contrary, the struggle against them must be waged with maximum determination. It should be noted that in recent years the anti-fascists in many capitalist countries have been employing this method of *offensive* struggle.

In some towns in West Germany, for instance, the anti-fascists demanded to banish neo-nazis from the urban area. After the abortive conspiracy of Right-wing generals in Spain in March 1981, Madrid saw an unprecedentedly massive anti-fascist demonstration. Similar demonstrations were held throughout that country. The press noted that "the putschists wanted to bring tanks out onto the

streets, but they brought millions of Spaniards out instead". In Portugal more than a quarter of a million people attended a gathering in Lisbon in April 1981 to mark the seventh anniversary of the overthrow of the fascist regime.

There are reasons to believe that such activation of the anti-fascist struggle, the switchover to actions involving hundreds of thousands or even millions of people, will take place in other countries too. Something of this kind has been happening in Italy. Even military fascism cannot tackle a truly mass movement. The anti-fascists of prewar days were mostly on the defensive. The anti-fascists of the 1980s must *assume the offensive* in order to be victorious. The motto of the extremists is "Death!" whereas the motto of the anti-fascists is "Life!". The latter always wins.

When the extremists lose their hold on the youth, they will lose everything. For they will not be able to achieve anything with the lumpen-proletariat and a handful of petty bourgeois who have become brutalised; they will be powerless even if the agents of American imperialism extend a patronising hand to them. Without the youth they are doomed.

Brian Jenkins, an American specialist on terrorism, predicts that terrorism will become a continuation of policy. A colleague of his, Robert A. Friedlander, says: "The hard and cold reality is that terrorism can never be eliminated, but it can be restrained and, perhaps, restrained effectively."

¹ *Terrorism: Theory and Practice*, Edited by Y. Alexander, D. Carlton and P. Wilkinson, Westview Press, 1979, p. 234.

This is not true. Terrorism *can* be eliminated. But it can be eliminated only by a socialist society, which severs the social roots of extremism: it does away with unemployment and the lumpen-proletariat, it abolishes fascist organisations and extricates the youth from their impasse by granting them extensive opportunities and proving to them the senselessness of ultra-Leftism. It will be written in future history books that terrorism was one of the monstrosities of the 20th century brought about by an aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and by the convulsions of bourgeois society. Terrorism is alive and even growing still, but it is doomed to death by the mass anti-fascist movement.

Lenin wrote in 1906:

"We are the party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators. . .

"We shall always be a party of the youth of the advanced class."¹

This sounds as the death sentence to terrorism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, pp. 354-55.